

# THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

"First the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear"

The Monitor's view

## 'Decolonizing' the press

In the guise of "decolonizing" the press, many third-world countries are seeking international sanction in put new shackles on it. The United States and other free countries would be the losers, as well as developing nations that vitally need the free flow of information and ideas in keeping moving forward. There could be such upside-down results as a demand that American correspondents abroad be suppressed by their own government, contrary to its own Constitution.

It is the cruel height of irony that a movement in this repressive direction should have gathered force under the auspices of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) — which was conceived to "promote the free flow of ideas by word and image." Every effort to restore that original thrust must be made during the General Conference of UNESCO in Nairobi.

What has to be resisted, among other things, is a drive for UNESCO approval of an insidious "declaration of fundamental principles governing the use of mass information media." One of its key articles says that "states are responsible for the activities in the international sphere of all mass media under their jurisdiction." This is the passage that could provide the excuse for a third-world government to pressure a correspondent from the U.S. or elsewhere by demanding that his own government curb his activities.

Even though the declaration would not be binding, its approval by the UNESCO conference would permit governments to exploit it in their own interests. This despite the rhetoric of the stated intentions of "strengthening peace and international understanding and combating war, propaganda, racism, and apartheid."

Such intentions will best be served by expanding rather than limiting the freedom of the press in countries where, in many cases, it is already under government control. And there are better ways to respond to the legitimate concerns of countries that consider their development or way of life threatened by foreign or domestic media practices.

One way is for the developed world to continue to offer training to journalists and other media people from the third world. Quite naturally the developing countries want "balanced" reporting that covers their achievements as well as crises. But the only sound way toward establishing balance is through free and responsible professional competence — not through governmental intrusion.

Thus there is a flaw in the recent efforts of nonaligned nations to challenge the dominance of the international news agencies by pooling their own reports through Yugoslavia. These reports come from official news agencies. If they came from free press agencies in the various countries, the idea of pooling them to serve the world would be a step forward.

Not that there is no room for the official news. It is handed out in the United States as it is elsewhere. But it needs the constant check provided by a free press. Even in the U.S. the press constantly has to guard against the government's encroaching on its freedom or using it for the government's interests rather than the people's.

This being the case where the press is conspicuously free, how much more necessary it is to guard against encroachments in lands where the struggle is just beginning. The task is hard enough without UNESCO casting its weight on the wrong side.

## Carter's foreign fumble

Listening to the two presidential candidates these past few weeks, one can easily conclude that neither Gerald Ford nor Jimmy Carter is too adept in the field of foreign policy.

No sooner had the President rocketed public sensibilities with his mistake on Eastern Europe than Mr. Carter stumbled over the issue of Yugoslavia, stating he would never use American troops to defend that nation against a Soviet invasion. Mr. Ford promptly — and fairly — seized upon that remark and has been pressing his attack ever since. Even Henry Kissinger has been enlisted.

We frankly do not understand Mr. Carter's position. It may comfort some Americans to think he would not commit United States military might abroad lightly. But surely it is the prime requirement of diplomacy to keep one's options open. The fact is that Yugoslavia is not a country off in the hinterland somewhere. It sits on the edge of the Soviet empire and is relevant to political and military stability in Western Europe. The Russians may have no intention of invading it after Tito is no longer on the scene; but it is folly to suggest to them the U.S. would sit idly by if they did choose to be aggressive.

As the Secretary of State commented, "It is important that the other side understand that the U.S. would not sit idly by if they did choose to be aggressive."

## Hungary's revolt 20 years after

Two days after the United States election will come the 20th anniversary of that sad fourth of November when 2,000 Soviet tanks rolled into Hungary and crushed the revolt symbolized by the people's toppling of a giant statue of Stalin. Hungary undoubtedly is not officially marking the anniversary of the beginning of the uprising. But it could not be overlooked in the United States even if the election campaign had not drawn new attention to continued Soviet domination of Eastern Europe and America's hands-off attitude toward it. For the U.S. welcomed 40,000 Hungarian refugees in 1956, and they have overwhelmingly become productive citizens.

Life in Hungary has become brighter and less oppressive since those days. Hungarian musicians mingle jazz and the electronic avant-garde at Switzerland's Montreux Jazz Festival. The so-called Fifty-Sixers who defected can openly visit their homeland. Communist Party chief János Kádár has presided over the evolution of an innovative economy mixing state control and market incentives.

Yes, things are better than they were when the uprising against tyranny left a reported 3,000 dead and 10,000 in prison. But Soviet forces are still stationed in Hungary. Freedom is at the pleasure of the authorities.

With officially now such a prominent part of the American political campaign, the Hungarian revolt of 1956 should not be forgotten. Their sacrifice fostered at least a tempering of Soviet wrath — and not only in Hungary. Hungarian-Americans have much to be proud of beyond their contribution to their second homeland.

## 'Hip-hip-Hua'



## And now Chairman Hua

It is less than two months since Mao Tse-tung's demise, and in that brief interval one cannot help being impressed with the speed and precision with which his successor, Hua Guofeng, has moved. To ensure stability — his own as well as China's — Mr. Hua not only has acquired Mao's powerful title as Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party, a position from which he can control the major facets of government, but also has moved successfully against four leading leftist opponents, including Chiang Ching, Mao's politically active widow. Few could have anticipated so much so soon.

What comes next? At this stage, as the Chinese people celebrate with apparent enthusiasm the Hua accession, we can only surmise. One likelihood is that Hua soon will relinquish his lesser title of Prime Minister, the office he inherited from the late Chou En-lai. If so, a possible successor as premier could be Li Hsien-shan, now Deputy Prime Minister, a known moderate, and a Chou associate.

What about China's relations with the outside world? For the moment, Hua may not do much while he puts his house in order. Amer-

ica's relations with the U.S. and the Soviet Union, with Mao no longer able to shelter them and with power now in the hands of their opponents.

The leftists also misjudged the sentiment of the hard-pressed Chinese man in the street. Their insistent call was for more hard work, no more recompense, and keeping up revolutionary fervor. Many Chinese, however, want someone who can offer them more progress and a little more personal reward in their lives, not just continued struggle.

## South Korea: courting favors?

There are limits beyond which the South Korean government of President Park — or any other government — should not be permitted to court favor with the United States. The spending of large amounts of money in gifts, or cash presents to influential people in the U.S. and elsewhere is a disreputable practice.

Justice Department and the Washington Post, the department has subpoenaed the bank records of the South Korean Embassy in an effort to trace cash flows to American politicians. "Other reports indicate the State Department may ask for removal of involvement with Embassy officials because of involvement with the alleged congressional payments. And Lee, the alleged congressional payments, has been indicted. Gov. Edwin Edwards' assertion he had no knowledge of a \$10,000 gift to his wife by a South Korean businessman until several years ago is being made also a part of the air of suspicion surrounding the South Korean activities.

It would be helpful if South Korea, as a recipient of large-scale American defense aid, would make certain that its operatives in the U.S. are not getting out of their pay envelopes and pocketbooks and are not being followed by U.S. intelligence agencies.

WEEKLY INTERNATIONAL EDITION

# THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

Monday, November 8, 1976

60¢ U.S.

## Mr. Carter goes to Washington

Economy, unemployment and overtures to Western Europe are among top priorities

By John Hillin  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Jimmy Carter is expected to act swiftly when he gets to the White House to put his personal stamp on the leadership of the United States.

Those who have watched Mr. Carter on his meteoric rise to the most powerful political office in the nation indicate his first actions almost will certainly include:

- An immediate pardon for draft evaders of the Vietnam war.
- Rapid moves to stimulate the economy and reduce unemployment, even if this increases the risk of inflation.
- An early gesture toward Western Europe and Japan whose strength and friendship are seen as the linchpin of American foreign policy.

But some of the most important Carter moves in these early days will be elated further down the road — toward long-term goals that will have heavy impact on taxes, social services, and the Washington bureaucracy.

Very quickly, Mr. Carter will be expected to launch a year-long study of the federal tax structure. Loopholes, tax shelters, and other methods used by corporations and high-income persons to reduce their obligations will be subject to scrutiny with the aim of simplifying the tax system and making it more "fair."

The new President almost certainly will throw the full power of the White House behind a nationwide system of government-paid health care. If the funds to pay for it are not immediately available, the system may be instituted piecemeal.

Mr. Carter also will seek to start fulfilling his pledge that the federal bureaucracy be streamlined. Over and over during the campaign, he promised to prune away overlapping,

confusing, and wasteful agencies and bureaus of government which he said make Washington ineffective.

Welfare also will get early Carter attention. The President-Elect would like to see the federal government assume virtually all welfare expenditures. He would like cash payments to replace a multiplicity of programs like food stamps. And he favors payments equalized in states as diverse as Mississippi and New York. Washington probably will get an early look at his new White House resident, who hopes to make a running start when he takes over.

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## Coming soon: a foreign policy without Kissinger

By Joseph C. Harach

Jimmy Carter's election victory in the United States makes one immediate change in foreign policy. It puts SALT II talks on ice until after the inauguration in January.

Conceivably, the Soviets might like to push ahead now on the theory that they could get a better deal on strategic arms limits from the Ford administration than will be available to them in Carter days ahead. Also, until January they will be able to deal with the Henry A. Kissinger they know. After January in Washington is for them terra incognita. (The Soviets never got around to making the acquaintance of Mr. Carter until he suddenly emerged as the Democratic presidential nominee. By then he was too busy with his campaign to notice their efforts to talk to him.)

But it would be impolitic for President Ford to make a major foreign policy commitment during the remainder of his term in office. He knows Washington too well to do it. And even were he so inclined, he would be repudiated by the Democratic majority in the Senate.

So SALT II goes on ice until after January and until the new administration has picked up the threads of American relations with the Soviet Union.

But the SALT talks seem likely to be the only place where the change over from Ford to Carter administrations will make much immediate difference in foreign policy. This proposition is of course subject to change. At this writing Mr. Carter has not begun to disclose his Cabinet plans. When we know the names of the people who will be advising him on foreign policy, a more precise forecast will be in order.

The leading candidate for Secretary of State seems to be Cyrus Roberts Vance, a New York lawyer, who served in the Department of Defense through the Kennedy and Johnson administrations. He was Deputy Secretary of Defense from 1964 to 1967. Since then he has shared with George W. Ball the role of unofficial "shadow" Secretary of State. Mr. Ball, who was Deputy Secretary of State during much of the Kennedy and Johnson years, backed Hubert H. Humphrey for the Democratic nomination; hence is presumed to be a second choice.

The Middle East is likely to be an important interest of American diplomacy early in the

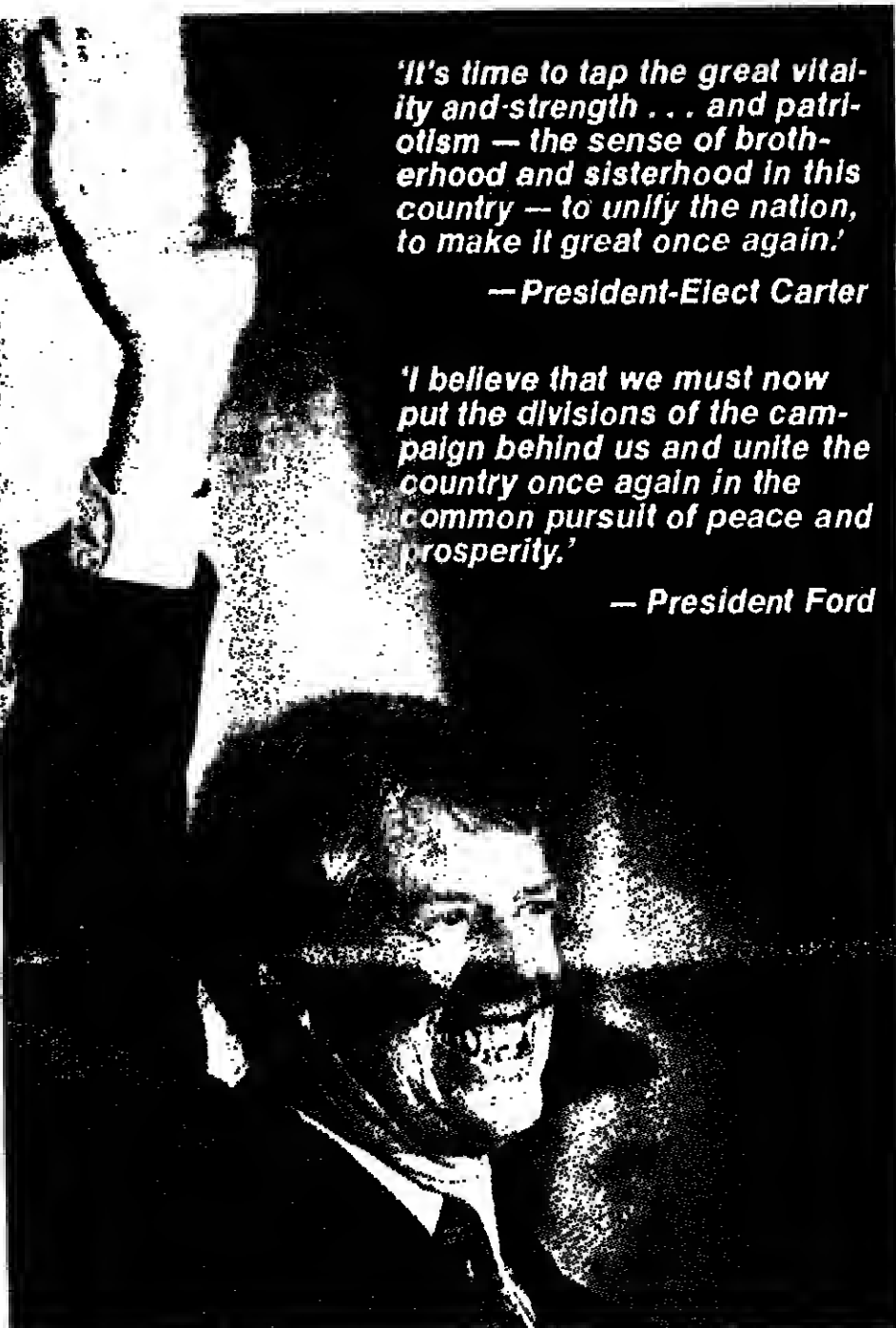
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*'It's time to tap the great vitality and strength . . . and patriotism — the sense of brotherhood and sisterhood in this country — to unify the nation, to make it great once again.'*

— President-Elect Carter

*'I believe that we must now put the divisions of the campaign behind us and unite the country once again in the common pursuit of peace and prosperity.'*

— President Ford



## Is there a role for U.S. in Ulster?

By Francis Renny  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Jimmy Carter says his view on the Northern Ireland problem have been "misrepresented" on Britain's side of the Atlantic. He insists he does not favor violence as part of a solution. But the fact is, no sensible English or Irish politician really believed he did — how- ever they may have whipped up their indignation for the benefit of the home audience.

What lay behind the thunderstorm of exaggerated outrage, the strained chorus of "stop playing politics with the lives of British citizens" was a real terror of any kind of American influence being brought to bear on the Ulster crisis. With memories of how the United States pressed Britain into giving freedom to India, and of how in more recent times Dr. Kissinger has leaned on Israel and white Rhodesia to "make" concessions, almost anyone whose authority is involved in Northern Ireland today is bound to fear that authority would be overruled if some future Kissinger moved into the affairs of the six counties.

It is easy enough to find more objective justifications for the Ulster problem. But the explanation

## British pound needs British help

By Takashi Oka  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Basically only Britons can pull their country out of its economic mess.

There is no real disagreement between Prime Minister James Callaghan and Conservative opposition leader Margaret Thatcher on that score.

Both have emphasized, in speech after speech, that Britain must pay its own way in the world. Both warn that a hard slog lies ahead.

Yet neither is ready for an emergency government of national union. Labour Prime Minister Callaghan is still confident that his basic strategy of a social contract with the trade unions and encouragement of export-oriented manufacturing industry will pull Britain out of its slump. Mrs. Thatcher repeats the orthodox Conservative argument that government must cut public spending and increase incentives to private enterprise.

This is the situation as a team from the International Monetary Fund takes an intensive



Britain must pay its own way

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The Independent weekly newspaper Expresso speculated that Mr. Soares's show of strength at the congress would not go unrewarded in American circles. The newspapers said that a promised \$240 million to \$400 million American loan would be considerably eased once the congress was over and Mr. Soares's position firmly restated.



# Europe

## Russian hierarchy stays put

Brezhnev still No. 1 at legislative session

By David K. Willis  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor



Kosygin: still in favor

Moscow  
At the far end of the Kremlin Palace hall, so vast that three aircraft hangers could be fitted in with room to spare, sat the rulers of the Soviet Union in three tiers of dark blue suits. With TV lights flashing from the gold medals pinned to their jackets, they read documents, chatted, doodled, and listened to the work of the Supreme Soviet (legislature) beginning in front of them. Their lineup signaled to the rest of the world that:

• The time for outward confirmation of reported maneuvering for succession in jovial, animated party Secretary Leonid Brezhnev still had not come. The only new face belonged to an industrial manager little known until this week: Yakov P. Ryabov. As a newly elected member of the party Secretariat (and 22 years younger than Mr. Brezhnev), he was among the leaders for the first time. He sat in the front row right across the center aisle from Mr. Brezhnev himself.

• Although Premier Alexei Kosygin did not step forward to deliver the main speech on the latest five-year plan as he had done for the previous plan (in 1971), he was clearly still in favor with Mr. Brezhnev. He sat beside the party leader during the legislative session, chatting and smiling, turning now and then to exchange words with head of state Nikolai Podgorniy on his right. Speculation is that Mr. Kosygin is headed for honorable retirement some time next year.

• Defense spending for next year is down 200 million rubles to 17.2 billion rubles (about \$23 billion). This is seen by Western analysts, not as a true indication of the defense budget (which is swelled by large sums in other categories), but as a sign that the Kremlin does want more talks on disarmament — and a reminder that, although the U.S. defense budget is going up, the Kremlin wants to go the opposite way. A similar cut was made two years ago.

Westerners were puzzled by the lack of changes in the leadership ranks after the Central Committee meeting earlier in the week. They had expected a clue to Mr. Kosygin's future and the promotion of newly appointed First Deputy Premier Nikolai A. Tikhonov to

at least involving membership of the Politburo. But none of this happened.

It could be an intended contrast in elections in the West, said one analyst, or it could be that Mr. Brezhnev feels so well and so much in command that he has simply postponed accession changes until later. But he cannot postpone them for long, analysts believe.

The single new man may owe his promotion and his prominent place on the dais to his work in reorganizing heavy industry in the Sverdlovsk area (which is closed to Westerners, presumably because of defense plants there). On Jan. 17 Mr. Ryabov wrote an article in Pravda, the Communist Party newspaper, about successes in amalgamating smaller plants into large ones.

This has led to speculation that he will be doing the same things as a broader scale now — or that he may be moving into the role long played by Secretariat member Dimitri F. Ustinov, who was appointed Minister of Defense earlier this year. Mr. Ustinov's departure from the Secretariat, although expected, was not announced.

Mr. Ryabov is known to be a protégé of Mr. Brezhnev's heir apparent, Andrei P. Kirilenko. In the early 1960s he was active in the Sverdlovsk city party apparatus.

## W. German generals fired for defending Nazi flier

By David Match  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Bonn  
In firing two top Air Force generals for defending a Nazi wartime air ace, West German Defense Minister Georg Leber has driven home the point that military tradition and comradeship must be subordinate to political judgment and civilian rule.

The men dismissed were the Air Force's second highest-ranking officer, Lt. Gen. Walter Krupinsky, and his deputy, Maj. Gen. Karl Heinz Franke.

They were fired for remarks made to report-

ers about a recent squadron reunion at a German air base. Germany's most decorated World War II airman, Stuka pilot Hans-Ulrich Rudel, appeared at the rally. He is said to have been one of Hitler's favorite pilots.

The political black mark against this pilot, however, is that even after 1945 he defended Hitler, as the newspaper Süddeutsche Zeitung describes it, "long after everyone had to know about the crimes of the National Socialist (Nazi) government."

The generals defended Mr. Rudel's appearance at the gathering. General Krupinsky had flown with Mr. Rudel during the war. Political observers said the two officers

could have escaped with a severe reprimand. However, the generals were quoted as saying: "Rudel had as much right to express his opinion as 'former communists' who are in the [German] Parliament."

The generals pointed to the example of Social Democrats (SPD) whip, Herbert Dierckx, who was in Moscow during part of the war and who later made his way to Sweden, joined the church, and left communism.

Report of these comments drew fire from 40 SPD members of Parliament who demanded the dismissal of the two officers.

## Hungary: 'With Kadar here everything's all right'

By Eric Bourne  
Special correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Budapest  
Twenty years ago this week, Janos Kadar emerged as Hungary's new Communist leader. He has been in the job ever since, and most Hungarians want him to carry on.

Last month, a party secretary and several ministers were changed. Public interest was scant. "As long as Kadar remains," an old (non-Communist) friend remarked to this writer, "everything is all right."

The comment was typical of public opinion about this Communist Party veteran. Mr. Kadar has established a remarkable degree of rapport, considering the circumstances in which he came to power.

The start could not have been more inauspicious. The Russians had overwhelmed the Hungarian uprising of October, 1956. Mr. Kadar, a member of reformist Prime Minister Imre Nagy's Cabinet when he declared Hungary neutral and appealed to the United Nations, had disappeared just before the final collapse of Mr. Nagy's government. After Soviet tanks had crushed all major resistance, Mr. Kadar resurfaced as head of a new government acceptable to the Soviets.

Although as a political prisoner he had been brutally mistreated by Hungary's former Stalinist regime, Mr. Kadar was regarded as a turncoat and worse for a long time after the traumatic events of 1956.

The two years of repression — the executions and the imprisonments — that followed as he re-established the Communist Party's authority did nothing to diminish this view.

But, once that task was accomplished, he initiated a program that introduced new attitudes and gradual reforms both to preserve the essential communist system and to make it more palatable to the population at large.

The slogan "He who is not against us is with us" replaced the old one, "He who is not with

us is against us" that had been applied less by Hungary's postwar dictator, Rakosi. The new slogan appealed to non-people and Communists, to religious believers and nonbelievers, with assurances for all opportunities and place in public life.

Slowly it gained credibility and public support, and Mr. Kadar himself, through a style of leadership and general approach, attained a measure of popularity unique within the Soviet bloc. There were accents on living standards as well as on economic management and an apparent degree of latitude for intellectual and artistic diversity.

Views of Mr. Kadar's 1956 role were filled by feelings that, after all, his actions were determined by knowledge that there was no alternative if any prospects of reform were salvaged from defeat.

Increasingly, he has been seen as a leader who understood better than any other the needs of reform within the Soviet bloc in Europe. The tragic events in Czechoslovakia 12 years later demonstrated this.

Mr. Kadar's prudence in this regard has been evident ever since in his careful advance of commitments to the Soviet Union's East bloc alliance and in cautious, step-by-step domestic reforms that do not endanger Russian conservatism unduly.

A confirmation of this success with a kind of atmosphere it has produced in Hungary's internationally known writer, Dery, in a Western television film about Hungary to mark the 20th anniversary of uprising.

Mr. Dery, an octogenarian who continues to write, was himself jailed for supporting Nagy. But he was able to tell his interview that Mr. Nagy was "an honest man" and that there is "much in Hungary today" that he has striven for.

Fired of two articles. Next: "Halfhearted and a firm hand on dissent."

## Hirohito's golden jubilee: where are the fireworks?

By Kent Calder and  
Toshiko Matsura  
Special in  
The Christian Science Monitor

Tokyo  
Japan will try to put aside its political turmoil Nov. 10 to celebrate the 50th anniversary of Emperor Hirohito's reign.

But it may be easier said than done. The first royal golden jubilee since Queen Victoria's in 1857, this one will underscore the fact that Emperor Hirohito — whom many expected to be deposed and executed 30 years ago as a war criminal — now is the most senior head of state in the world.

Considering the historical monumentousness of the occasion, the celebrations here will be unpretentious. There will be no 21-gun salutes — indeed no military participation of any kind. Government employees will get only a half day off from work. Schoolchildren may not get any time off, since the teachers' union, Nikkyusen, is opposed to having the occasion celebrated.

The main official recognition will be the issuing of two commemorative stamps and a ceremony hosted by Prime Minister Takeo Miki for government officials in the Nippon Budokan Assembly Hall in Tokyo, a site normally used for sporting events and rock concerts.

Unofficially, the major observance of the jubilee will be special exhibitions in department stores across Japan on the theme of the Emperor's reign.

Even these low-key observances, however, are generating considerable political opposition. At the center of the controversy is the Socialist Party Governor of Tokyo, Ryokichi Miki. Mr. Miki's father once went to prison for suggesting, contrary to official doctrine at the time, that the Emperor was not divine. The younger Mr. Miki, protesting that he could not celebrate the first 30 years (1926-1955) of the Emperor's reign, announced even before being formally invited to the jubilee that he would not attend.

In chorus with Mr. Miki, the Communist Party members of the Diet (Parliament) — who, out of principle, never attend its opening ceremony because of the Emperor's presence — announced that they opposed commemorating the jubilee and implied that they would not attend either. Thirty-million people, they asserted, had been killed in the Emperor's name during World War II, and participants in the jubilee ceremony would tacitly be condoning militarism and allowing attention to be diverted from the Lockheed payoff scandal that has rocked this country since February.

On the other hand, the ultra-right, many of



The Emperor and Empress receiving guests in their garden

The celebration will be small — with all due respect

whose members are World War II veterans, think that the ceremony should not be held because it would damage the Emperor's dignity if presided over by what they consider "affairist politicians" such as Mr. Miki.

Then, too, there is the ultra-left, which is said to be making plans to disrupt the ceremony. Already there has been one abortive fire-bomb attack (Oct. 13) on the Imperial Palace. Police leaves are being canceled, and a full state of alert is planned for the duration of the jubilee period.

Coming as it does just one month before general elections must be held here, the jubilee seems certain to have a significant effect on national politics. In the view of observers, the event is buttressing the position of hard-pressed Prime Minister Miki by giving him the prestige of directing preparations and by postponing his resignation. To many Japanese, deposing Mr. Miki before the jubilee would be almost unpardonable since it would be seen as rudeness toward the Emperor.

Despite the political controversy surrounding the jubilee, most Japanese seem to respect the shy, diminutive Emperor, whose first love is said to be marine biology rather than affairs of state. Some 214,000 people are estimated to have trooped to the Imperial Palace last year to receive the Emperor's biannual greeting.

Behind the popular respect for the Emperor are both the weight of Confucian-Shintoist tradition and his record of sacrifice for his people. It is widely thought that he himself made the fatal decision that Japan surrender at the end of World War II, thus sparing his people much suffering at the prospective cost

of his own life. Following the surrender he never attempted to flee or go into hiding, and he shared the rigors of military occupation with his subjects as he had those of the war.

## More powers given Mrs. Gandhi

By the Associated Press

New Delhi  
The lower house of the Indian Parliament, with most opposition lawmakers boycotting, passed a constitutional amendment Nov. 3 giving Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's government virtually unrestricted executive powers.

With only four dissenting votes, the house gave approval to the sweeping amendment, which the government says will speed a social and economic revolution and the opposition says will institutionalize dictatorship.

The amendment, rewriting the preamble and 59 clauses of India's 25-year-old democratic charter, curtails the powers of the judiciary to enforce civil liberties and review legislation and enables the government to ban "anti-national" groups and activities.

The 368-to-4 vote, with the formality of upper house approval Nov. 5, came three days after the government announced the postponement of national elections for at least another year.

## Communists use church teaching to calm crisis

By Eric Bourne

Special correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor  
Warsaw, Poland  
"Solid work is a moral obligation, and ability to make sacrifices — a Christian virtue."

Words like these make unusual reading in a Communist-controlled press, but this statement appeared in many Polish newspapers otherwise preoccupied with the government view of Poland's current pressing economic difficulties.

It was excerpted from a communiqué issued by the Roman Catholic Bishops in September. The passage, quoted contumaciously, "honors work and sacrifice hinge on confidence in the authorities, who can gain this confidence through true care for the good of all citizens."

It was featured in a report circulated by the official Polish News Agency and carried by Warsaw radio and almost all the national Polish newspapers.

Rarely if ever before in postwar Poland had a church pronouncement of this kind been published by the official media.

It added emphasis to two significant developments arising from the workers' angry reactions over the sensitive food prices issue last June.

Critic of policies

Ever since World War II, the Polish primate, Stefan Cardinal Wyszyński, has been a frequent outspoken critic of Com-

munist policies. Rarely, however, since the short-lived "liberalization" of the church after 1956, has he been so vocal.

Not since that initial brief period has Poland's Communist leadership shown such concern to secure the church's goodwill and cooperation in its social and economic problems.

Edward Giersek took over in December, 1971, after Mr. Gomulka had antagonized all strata of Polish Society, workers and church included.

Mr. Giersek at once began what proved to be a successful party-to-people dialogue. He restored to the church buildings and lands sequestered after the war. Renewal of Poland's contacts with the Vatican followed.

Disagreements resurfaced

More recently, old disagreements resurfaced. Relations already were cooler when the food price riots shook the nation. The upshot, however, has been a remarkable show of conciliatory attitudes by both party leadership and bishops.

The children make clear they still expect more legions over new churches, religious teaching, and publications before a fully normal accord is possible.

But on the price controversy the bishops presented a balanced view. They urged government "understanding" of the public dismay that accompanied the issue and urged the public

to exercise restraint. They proposed amendments for the constitution to make the church more vigorous — and accepted — in part in political debate as in the last few months.

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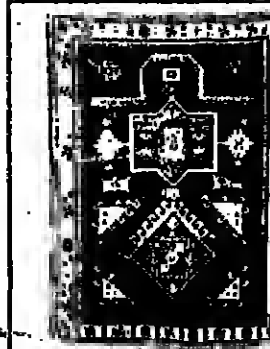
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# Asia

## Can Vietnam recover its lost 'fighting will'?

By William P. Latch  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Bangkok, Thailand  
Vietnam may be about to significantly shake up its ruling Workers Party because of what is described as the "bewitching" of party cadres by a materialistic life-style, resulting in their loss of "fighting will."

These indications come from recent issues of Hoc Tap, the official organ of the Vietnamese Communist Party, or Workers Party (VWP) as it is properly known.

In a surprisingly candid article, VWP Politburo member Nguyen Duy Trinh says Vietnam's transition to socialism is showing "serious shortcomings" and that revolutionary change is required to remedy the situation. He attributes these shortcomings to "the decrease in the fighting will of a number of cadres" and he adds that the lack of "revolutionary qualities" has led to "ethical errors" that have had "serious political consequences throughout the country."

Exactly what errors Mr. Trinh is referring to is not clear, but the article specifically singles out party promotions that have come by virtue of personal relationships rather than personal ability and what the author terms as increasing "individualism" on the part of some cadres.

The comments of Mr. Trinh, who is also the Foreign Minister of Vietnam, are seen by observers in Bangkok as part of a continuing campaign designed to revitalize the now-sagging revolutionary fervor of party members after a year and a half of quiescent reunification. The beginnings of the campaign were signaled by a Politburo directive issued last July calling for all soldiers and party members to re-examine their revolutionary resolve and to further strive for party unity. Since the issuing of the directive, the campaign has been reaching an increasingly intensive tempo and the Vietnamese news media these days commonly carry criticism of party members who have taken the "wrong path" as well as discussions on the proper virtues of a good cadre.

This is attributed to the party's apparent difficulty in transforming itself from the wartime footing maintained since its inception to one in which it has complete political power but also the formidable tasks of governing and reconstructing the third largest socialist state in the world. Not the least of the new regime's problems are the psychological effects that have been nurtured by the direct contact between cadres and the remnants of the political and economic systems they succeeded in destroying after 30 years of war.

Many party members, accustomed to the austere life of a peasant revolutionary war, apparently have been impressed enough with the material abundance of the formerly capitalist Saigon that they have been lulled away from their revolutionary commitments. Another recent Hoc Tap article rebukes these members and cadres for "failing to preserve their own revolutionary qualities." This may allude to the increasing corruption of cadres reported by Vietnamese refugees, some of whom profess to have bought their way out of Indo-China.

The party leaders clearly seem concerned about the waning of revolutionary commitment and the consequences this may have for the revolution. It is not, however, a serious one since it would come at a critical juncture in the internal politics of Vietnam, whose political reunification is yet to be completely assimilated and whose rebuilding program is heavily encumbered by increasing difficulties.

Significantly, the intensification of the party's campaign in the last few months may well be intended to set the tenor for the Fourth Party Congress in mid-December. The congress will be the first since 1960, and the sweeping changes that have occurred in Indo-China and the world in the intervening years must certainly be dealt with in the coming session.

The congress could produce the blueprint of a newly designed party that is more suited for the tasks confronting Vietnam.

The agenda calls for the establishing of a new five-year plan and the adoption of a "revolutionary socialist plan for the whole of Vietnam." These tasks, along with the election of a new Central Committee, will allow ample opportunity for the party to considerably alter its direction if deemed necessary.

The face of the Central Committee may be significantly changed as the party responds to recent criticisms by southern Vietnamese to the effect that the northerners have a disproportionate hand in the running of things. The VWP's chief of organization, La Duc Tho, is thought to have spent the past five months in southern Vietnam, possibly recruiting more southerners for party membership. A move to bring more southerners into the ranks would be a major step toward integration of the southern region into the national governmental and political structures.



Communist cadres relaxing: the party doesn't like the picture

## Korean mystery man: success and a bribery charge

By Louise Swecoy  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington  
The rocketing social success of Park Tong-sun on the Washington social scene made him an ideal middleman between U.S. rice dealers and the South Korean Government, says an acquaintance here of Mr. Park.

"When they saw all the press publicity about his being high society in Washington, the South Korean Government became more confident that [he] was the guy who should become the lobbyist for the government," says one Park acquaintance.

"There was no question — everyone in the Korean community knew he was involved in this rice business. But he gave a different impression to the American public, which was very naive. He is a soft-spoken type of guy, rosy, and he ingratiated himself with Washingtonians, who were not aware of his true connections, says the South Korean source.

This Park acquaintance was referring to allegations that Mr. Park's party and gift-giving were financed mostly by commissions he and the South Korean Government pressed from U.S. rice dealers making federally subsidized rice sales to South Korea under the Food for Peace program.

Another acquaintance of Mr. Park's describes him as being "very polished, very smooth. . . . He gave these superb buffets, fabulous food, and . . . money was no object."

A graduate of Georgetown University who had long had roots in the Washington community, Mr. Park had helped found the posh Georgetown Club. It was the scene of many of

given for House Democratic Whip Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. (D) of Massachusetts. One acquaintance of Mr. Park's remembers "the smashing guests list, people from the Hill, the White House, ambassadors; few people would turn down a thing like a party for the House."

Lawyer for the South Korean mystery man, last seen in Japan, say he will return to the U.S. to face a federal grand jury probe involving allegations of bribery and influence peddling to U.S. congressmen.

"We don't have any knowledge of when he'll return, but we can tell you he didn't leave the country to escape process (serving). As far as we know, he'll be back," said Cary Feldman, a spokesman for the Washington law firm of Hundley & Cachert which represents Mr. Park. Mr. Feldman said that the firm was confident enough of his return that it "had agreed to accept process, if someone serves a sub-

poena" on Mr. Park. "That means, if he gets a subpoena and did not appear, we would be subject to contempt" proceedings, Mr. Feldman explained.

"We are denying that Mr. Park ever made any illegal contributions," says legal spokesman Feldman. He added that Mr. Park had left the country on a business trip before the investigation began.

The investigation could involve as many as 90 members of Congress whose names were found with notations of possible contributions when Mr. Park was stopped by customs agents in Alaska in 1973.

Mr. Park is alleged to be at the center of a band of South Korean agents working under orders from South Korean President Park Chung Hee, who gave between \$500,000 and \$1 million a year in gifts, cash, and campaign contributions to U.S. congressmen and other government officials.

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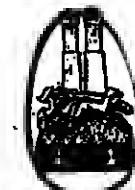
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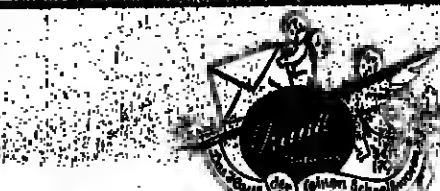
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# United Nations

## Proposed fund insufficient to feed the hungry

By Richard Critchfield  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Rome  
Prospects are bright that a long-delayed \$1 billion UN fund to help the hungriest countries grow more food finally will come into being. Saudi Arabia has hinted it probably will give an extra \$30 million to enable UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim to formally establish the fund by mid-November.

At a meeting in Rome Sept. 30, Iran broke a two-year deadlock by agreeing to increase its donation by \$20 million to \$125 million. Britain, Denmark, Norway, and Austria also agreed to give a total of \$10 million more.

This ended a prolonged political disagreement between the developed nations and the oil producers about who should pay the lion's share for "third world" agricultural development.

When the fund was proposed at the World Food Conference in Rome in 1974, U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger pledged \$200 million from the United States, which Congress has approved.

But Dr. Kissinger wanted the oil-producing countries to match the \$200 million that the West was to raise to establish that food and oil politics cannot be kept separate.

At first the oil nations said they would put up \$400 million and not a penny more. They maintained that world hunger was not a product of oil prices, but of centuries of exploitation by the developed countries.

But now the developed countries have raised their pledge to \$550 million, and the oil countries have promised \$420 million.

For two years a kind of "You first, Henry," "After you, Ali," dialogue meant that no new help went to the needy Africans and Asians. Indeed, complacency was fostered by a

marked, if probably temporary, improvement in world food supplies. Production rose just 2 percent in 1975, a hairs breadth ahead of annual world population growth of 1.9 percent but below a total rise of 3 percent in demand because of higher incomes. This year a 6 percent increase in world food production is expected, largely because of agricultural recovery in the Soviet Union and a favorable Asian monsoon.

World food reserves of 118 million tons are the highest since 1973, when they reached 120 million tons. But this is still only 13 percent of consumption, not the 17-18 percent experts consider safe. Reaching that level would take at least three more years of record harvests.

And higher costs for food, oil, and fertilizer have increased the poorest countries' current account deficits from \$3.9 billion in 1975 to \$12.7 billion in 1976 and something above \$13 billion this year.

Inflation during the two-year delay has eroded by 20 percent the real value of the \$1 billion fund at a time when agricultural aid is dropping.

The World Bank, the single biggest donor to irrigation works, fertilizer production, and other agricultural projects in the "third world," will reduce funding to agriculture by \$230 million to \$1.6 billion in fiscal 1978.

So the world is no closer to coming to grips with its food problem.

The reluctance of the rich to finance any aid approaching this magnitude has led to a search for alternatives to help the poor countries overcome chronic food shortages. World Bank director Robert S. McNamara favors direct aid to the small farmer, the peasants on one or two-acre plots who produce 95 percent of the food in Afro-Asia.

## New governor of S. Australia: aboriginal chosen

By Ronald Vickers  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Sydney, Australia

On Dec. 1 an event unprecedented in the 188-year history of Australia will take place: An aboriginal pastor, a member of a society that until recently had advanced only to a Stone Age culture, will take over as governor of South Australia.

The Governor-Designate, Sir Douglas Nicholls, is widely admired and respected for his work among — and struggles on behalf of — his people. However, many Australians, including some long-term supporters of aboriginal causes, are deeply concerned the appointment

may not be to the advantage of either the office or to the advancement of aboriginal people.

State governors in Australia are appointed by Queen Elizabeth II on the recommendation of state premiers, just as the governor-general is appointed on the recommendation of the prime minister.

Until the Governor-General, Sir John Kerr, dismissed the Labor Party government of Prime Minister Gough Whitlam last November, it was generally assumed none of the "Queen's men" had any real power. But now nobody is sure. And this uncertainty over the extent of vica-regal power has accelerated the political thrust for republic status here — at

the same time placing the future of all the governor's offices in doubt.

Even if the Queen remains titular head of Australia for many years to come, as seems likely, the position of the governors seems certain to be eroded, if not abolished altogether. Already the opposition Labor Party in the State of Western Australia has announced that, when elected to office, it will not recommend any further governors to the Queen — therefore abolishing the position. The vica-regal residence would be thrown open to the public.

The Premier of South Australia, Don Dunstan, who chose Sir Douglas as the next governor of his state, vehemently denies that his choice of an aborigine for the position signifies

any diminution of status accorded the office.

To some, Mr. Dunstan's recommendation is merely a long overdue and well-merited recognition of an outstanding member of the aboriginal population. To others, including some of his own supporters, the Premier's choice places a relatively inexperienced and moderately educated person in a position to which neither his background nor his abilities suit him.

Opponents of the appointment lean over backward to deny that there is any racism in their opinions. They acknowledge Sir Douglas's achievements, his integrity, and his social concern. But, they say, he does not come from a social background that would serve him in dealing with all levels of society.



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**Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor**

Wind power has found its strongest advocates on college campuses and in the ranks of individual investor/entrepreneurs.



By Barth J. Falkenberg, staff photographer

"I think there will be a real breakthrough in the next four or five years," said Mr. Mayer. He thinks this will come about because electronic switching devices have been developed which "condition" a wind generator's power to make it com-

Meanwhile, the federal government is concentrating on giant windmills. A year ago a generator was erected with 80-foot rotors. More recently, General Electric was awarded a contract for an even larger machine.

**By Richard L. Strout**  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christien Scieoce Mooltor

You thought that under the American sys-

- In 1876, Gov. Samuel Tilden (D) of New York got 280,000 more popular votes than Rutherford B. Hayes (R) of Ohio but lacked one vote of a majority in the electoral college. A 15-man commission voting on partisan lines, 8 to 7, awarded contested electors to Hayes, making him president.

It is the requirement of "majority" (in today's terms, 270 electors out of 538) that is one hurdle for popular rule. In 1868, for example, George Wallace won 46 electoral votes, which almost gave him the balance of power. If nobody gets an electoral majority, the elec-

Students watch attentively each four years to see if the 1876 and 1888 crises will be repeated. "Almost—but not quite," they murmur after close elections.

**By Joseph C. Harsch**

Looking back Americans should all agree that Jerry Ford was substantially what the country needed at the time. The leaders of the Congress who plucked him out of their cynical nihil as a receiver in bankruptcy chose well. His jobs were first, to restore confidence in the integrity of the federal government in Washington; second, to give the country a reprieve from the drain of overcommitment overseas; and, third, to repair the damage to this American economy caused by the enormous cost of the Vietnam war and the unexpected

Well, the machine is in working order again, but it does not have any real sense of direc-

**Campaign rhetoric?**  
Yes, in part. Whether he has any clear idea about a new sense of direction is something we will find out between now and inauguration evening. His inaugural address should tell us more than the speech he made when he accepted the nomination. So far there is little on the record to suggest that he has the instincts of a Woodrow Wilson, the political acumen of Franklin Roosevelt or the sincere enthusiasm of a John Kennedy. But he has enormous, enormous reserves of concentration and tenacity. Those two qualities turned him into an obscure local politician and then a great one.

There is plenty of work to be done.  
This is a superb opportunity for a man of  
John M. Carter can have a brilliant career.  
So, let's hope he does.

## Washington

"I would not be surprised if the world population never again doubled, despite the standard rhetoric of UN and political speechwriters, said Dr. Brown. Demographers had previously believed that a world population of 10 to 15 billion would be reached before a leveling off began, he noted.

Mr. Brown attributes the falling birthrate to "the widening availability of family planning

The Worldwatch survey indicates a startling drop in the birthrate in China, which makes one-fifth of the world's population, from 32 to 19 births per thousand persons. He calls it the "most rapid national drop ever recorded for five-year span." Mr. Brown describes Chinese Government family planning as "the most aggressive anywhere in the world."

Mr. Brown points out that the world food surpluses of the '50s and '60s are gone in the '70s; in 1972, world consumption of grain exceeded production for the first time. In 1970, grain reserves amounted to 89 days of world consumption; now they're down to 36 days, which Mr. Brown calls "just a pipeline supply."

The Worldwatch survey says the resulting food shortage has killed the most individuals.



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# Africa

## An interview with Joshua Nkomo

By Takoshi Oke  
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Geneva  
"We came here to Geneva because there's a war," said Joshua Nkomo, one of the Rhodesian black nationalist leaders. "Our effort is to remove the cause of the war by an acceptable solution. As long as we have not done so, the war will continue."

Mr. Nkomo is president of the Zimbabwe African People's Union and perhaps the best known internationally of the four black leaders who have come to Geneva for talks with white Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith under British chairmanship.

The talks are aimed at setting up an interim government, with the goal being independence under majority rule within two years. Zimbabwe, the African name for Rhodesia, is the probable name of the new state.

Among the African leaders here at Geneva, Mr. Nkomo is a moderate. "It's a pity," he told this reporter in a recent interview, "that we are more sensible than human beings. Black and white have peacefully together in the same pan. What makes creatures who have reason attach such importance to color? I don't."

### Decade in detention

Yet Mr. Nkomo was detained by Mr. Smith's white minority regime for a decade, from before that regime's unilateral declaration of independence from Britain in November, 1965, until December, 1974. Two other leaders of black delegations to Geneva, Robert Mugabe and the Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole, were similarly detained.

(Only the fourth of such leaders, Methodist Bishop Abel Muzorewa, who is president of the African National Council's so-called external wing, has never been confined to a prison or detention camp. The ANC is split, and Mr. Nkomo is president of the so-called internal wing. Both wings have wide support within Rhodesia, whereas Mr. Mugabe's strength is with the guerrilla fighters of the Zimbabwe People's Army, which operates from bases in Mozambique. Mr. Sithole is currently the weakest of the four leaders, with little visible support either within or without the country, although, like Mr. Nkomo, he

was one of the early leaders of the African national movement.

Mr. Nkomo's internal prestige was damaged when he negotiated unsuccessfully with Mr. Smith early this year for a peaceful transition to black majority rule. This may be why he felt it necessary to ally himself with Mr. Mugabe, the most militant of the four Africans at the conference, before they came to Geneva. The two have formed a "patriotic front."

### Britain prodded

Like the other African delegates, Mr. Nkomo complains that Britain should "take up its colonial responsibilities." But if he can get the substance of majority rule, he seems more willing to compromise on guarantees for the white minority than do the other black leaders, including his partner in the patriotic front, Mr. Mugabe.

Mr. Nkomo senses a division within the white community: There are the diehards who look on U.S. Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger's mediation proposals (accepting majority rule in two years but including safeguards for the existing white regime, which the blacks reject) as a means of clinging to power indefinitely. But another group of farmers and businessmen recognizes that majority rule is inevitable and wishes the transition to be as rapid and smooth as possible.

Representatives of the second group have been to see Mr. Nkomo and his white adviser, former Rhodesian Prime Minister Garfield Todd, to pledge their support. But suspicion of Mr. Smith and his attempts to delay majority rule as long as possible are very strong, even in Mr. Nkomo's delegation. The is one reason the British chairman, Ivor Richard, is making agreement on a date for independence his first priority. He apparently hopes that once this is settled, the haggling over the interim government will be easier.

If a compromise that concedes the substance of black majority rule is worked out, would Mr. Nkomo accept it even if Mr. Mugabe, for instance, felt it did not go far enough?

"I'm not a child," Mr. Nkomo answered, looking straight at this reporter. "I've been in this struggle longer than anybody else. I do something because I think that something will benefit my people. I'm not pushed or pulled by extremes, on either side. I survive by actions, by real things."



Nkomo: designs for clothes and Rhodesea

By Sven Simon

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# America's last log drive

Text by Stewart Dill McBride  
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor  
Photos by Barth J. Falkenberg  
Staff photographer of The Christian Science Monitor

Skowhegan, Maine  
For three centuries they waited. Each March, in cramped cabins along lonely miles of the frozen Kennebec, the river drivers waited, comforted only by the woolen underwear and bacon the womenfolk had packed for them. They waited patiently and eventually it came, as it did every year. Spring thaw.

Solid streams and ponds, thousands of them dotting Maine's north woods, unlocked their dungeons of rolling ice and turned loose a stampede of logs left barnessed in the snow by lumberjacks the previous winter. The fallen timbers, resurrected on the crests of white-water freshets, balked at the shoals, viciously gnawing at each other's bark, clogging and jamming river canyons like flats of firecrackers.

Since Colonial days, Maine's river drivers, a robust breed of brawling Bunyanesque men, herded and occasionally rode the bucking logs downstream, beckoned by the hungry screams of the mills' allover saws, which turned towering pines into everything from toothpicks to masts for the British Royal Navy.

Their moustaches black as bark, thick as spruce pitch, these cowboys of the Kennebec wore chopped-off trousers and felt-brimmed hats. They shouldered steel-tipped pickpoles and "cant dogs," and danced with the dexterity of high-wire artists across the bobbing backs of their wooden cattle. And when muscled couldn't pry apart a stubborn logjam, a stick or two of dynamite did the job.

## Many couldn't swim

Many of the river drivers, then as today, couldn't swim a stroke, and stayed afloat by trusting nimble feet on currents swift enough to kick the snout of a defiant log 20 feet in the air. "Timber walking" on the Kennebec, from the April "ice-out" to the November "freeze-up," was more dangerous than romantic, and if ever a logger lost his footing and life to the frigid black waters, his spiked boots were nailed to the nearest tree as a memorial and warning to the less judicious "river cats."

Whenever they hit "dead water" or were forced to "lay back for a head wind," log drivers earned their reputation for playing as hard as they worked. They romped in river rodeos of log-rolling, horseshoe pitching, storytelling, and foot races with barrels of salt pork and molasses on their shoulders.

In the early 19th century, among the annual procession of wood down the Kennebec were the logs of scores of rival timber companies, whose 104-mile conveyor belt ran from Moosehead Lake — the blue bull's-eye

in the midst of Maine's 20 million acres of lush forest — to the Atlantic. But the floating wooden wealth was a temptation. Even "ax-men" at the ends of the timber couldn't prevent massive "log rustling." Finally, in 1835, the Maine Legislature halted the chaos and the frequent fights between competing loggers. It chartered the cooperative, profit Kennebec River Log Driving Company, designed to referee annual drives.

## Outboards, TV, showers

Much of the heavy work and outdoor romance of the river drive remains today; but over the past 140 years the rugged but silent "cats," like the lumberjacks, have slowly succumbed to modernization. "Kickers" (outboard motors) now power their flat-bottomed boats, called "bateaux." Television and hot showers have been added to the Spartan regime of the river camps (today reserved primarily for "visa boys" from Quebec), where men once slept on the cold ground beneath a common blanket.

In 1835, 63 logging companies floated their wood cargoes down the Kennebec. Now only the Scott Paper Company remains. The river drive is a modern tale of transition: shifting from the slower speedier road and rail delivery of pulpwood to the insatiable mills. The final plug was pulled on the river drive in 1971 when the state Legislature outlawed the transporting of logs down the Kennebec after Oct. 1, 1976. It had finally yielded to pressure from environmentalists and sportsmen who protested that the logs and their oxygen-consuming leavings hindered fish spawning and pleasure boating.

Last summer's "transition drive" was only 80,000 cords, a fraction of such "great log drives" as the 250,000 cords moved in 1975 and the record 318,882 cords driven in 1880. But this year's was the final river drive ever in America.

At this moment the Kennebec River Log Driving Company is selling the last of its boats and pickpoles. The men who spent decades of their lives prodding the stubborn logs downstream are out looking for new work. Some will go to the paper mills. Perhaps a few will be seen next year on Maine's Route 201, steering the giant truck trailers of logs which have forced the river drivers into extinction.

Many of these men, the last links with a tradition in America's logging past, are left without a future. As youngsters they dropped out of school to follow their fathers and grandfathers down the river. They can neither read nor write and the once proud and fiercely independent men must go on welfare.

A final flurry of national publicity has given the loggers a moment's sunset of nostalgia to ride into, but, barring an abrupt change of heart by the paper companies, the cowboys of the Kennebec have driven their last logs.



Log drive foreman Buster Violette — 30 years on the Kennebec



In a tradition that dates from Colonial times, Maine's river drivers (above) herded bucking logs with "pickaroons" (below left), fancy footwork, and flat-bottomed "bateaux" (below right)

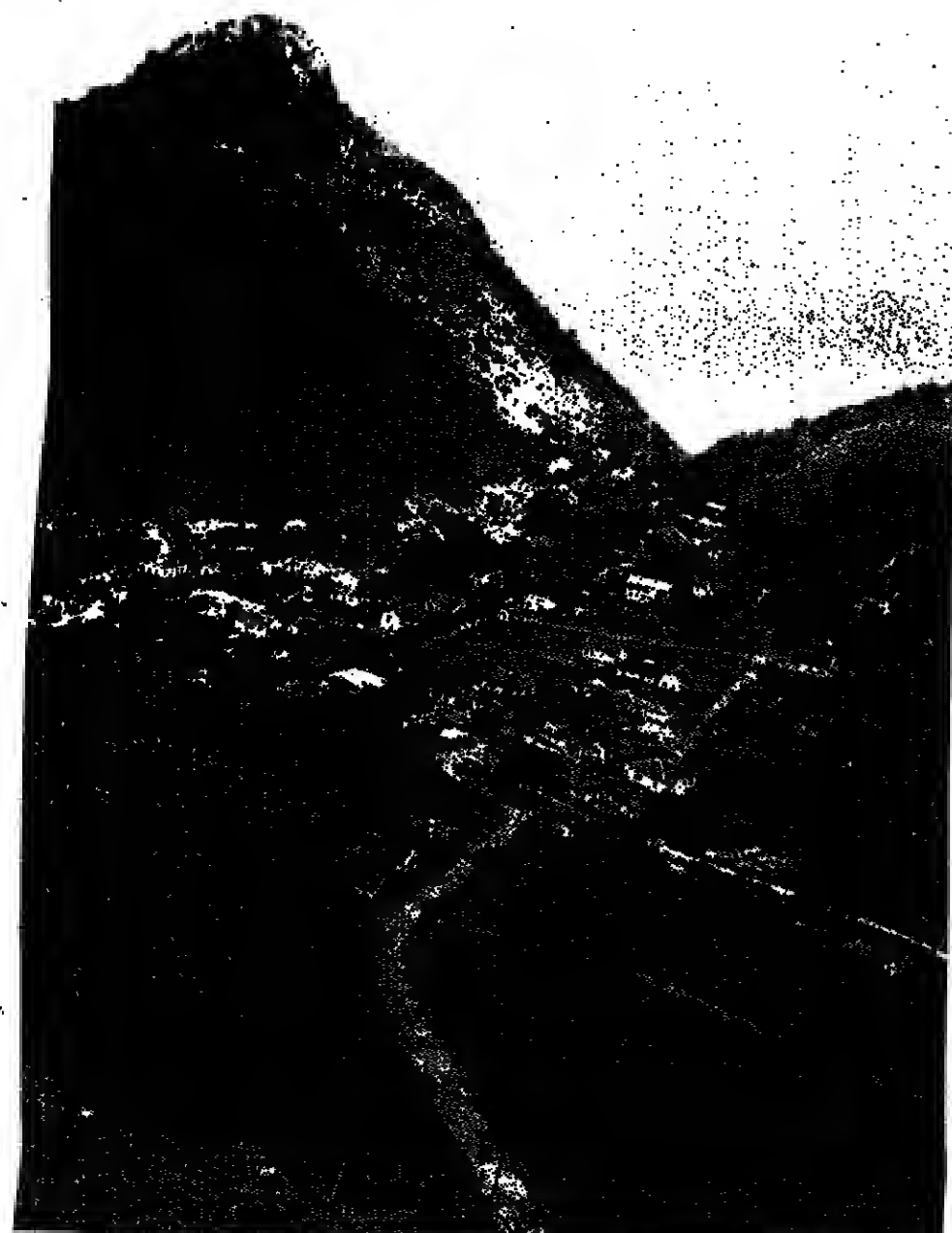








## travel



The Bottom, Saba

By Peter Tonge

Saba: where bicycles are an absurdity

## The Costa Brava: where to find dinosaur eggs, camels, and Dali

By Susan Lapinski  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Cadaques, Spain  
The gleaming white house looks like many others in Cadaques — until you notice the mock dinosaur eggs looming expectantly on the orange-tiled roof. Salvador Dali lives here, visitors are reminded.

It is impossible not to feel the artist's dynamic and eccentric personality here in the Costa Brava's loveliest and least-spoiled holiday spot. Shops along the diminutive water-colored harbor display outrageous autographed photos of Dali reclining in his pet leopard or stroking the spiky strands of his moustache. And each year the town fathers organize some kind of festival in his honor — the last one was the "Dali Day" in 1975, when a life-sized candy likeness of him was placed in the plaza.

Tourists are drawn here first by the fishing village's deep moor, crystal-clear coves, and attractive prices (\$8 and up for a sporty double room, \$3 for passable paella). But after visiting the jewel-like 17th century church and watching deeply tanned fishermen at work in stout little boats, they invariably take the winding stone path to Dali's house in adjacent Port Lligat.

Some get a personal welcome from the artist when he is in residence. Others must be content with a glimpse of his dinosaur eggs and terraced garden, decorated with a life-sized wooden camel and two enormous metal mannequin heads leaning passively atop the garden wall.

Only 30 miles away in the artist's birthplace of Figueras is the Dali Theater-Museum, three floors of a one-man show designed by the artist

himself right down to its spiral staircases and sound effects. The result is a visual circus.

A wall of yellow draperies, oil paintings, and a curvaceous red couch turns into a giant Man West face when viewed through a special lens located atop a wooden camel. A frescoed ceiling shows the artist and his Cadaques-born wife ascending into heaven, their oversized feet trailing like balloons in the clouds. A magical velvet alcove of religious miniatures pulses with the ticking of an invisible clock. Birdsong fills an inviting courtyard where surprising materials like gilded steer bones and matador capes combine in striking assemblages. Possibly most fascinating of all are the paintings in which Dali uses the layered rock forms of the Cadaques mountains to create landscapes and portraits, including a Mona Lisa constructed entirely of the simple shapes of the rocks.

When you visit the museum, you return to Cadaques. The walk from the harbor to the lighthouse takes on new interest after seeing Dali's use of the natural forms. The craggy Punt Moultains bite like shark's teeth into the sea; an alphabet soup of coral shapes shining through navy waves. Sheer walls of blue and rust-colored rock are riddled with holes like desert bones, yet soft as corduroy to the touch. Hand-built stone fences and shepherd's shepherds riding like rocky beehives out of the harbor land add to the eerie feeling of lunar landscapes.

As more and more visitors from just over the border in nearby France build their holiday villas along the hillside, the dreamy mood of the village may disappear. Already the red earth vibrates with concrete mixers and land-scapers' trucks. But for the time being, at least, Cadaques remains a bizarre and beautiful place right out of a Dali daydream.

## In the Caribbean

## Tiny Saba — a steep island mountain

By Peter Tonge  
Staff writer of  
The Christian Science  
Monitor

St. Martin, Netherlands Antilles  
There is a jade green mountain, just a 15-minute plane hop from here, that rises straight up out of the sea for almost 3,000 feet. It is called Saba, and it is one of the more unusual and delightful of all the islands that dot the deep blue Caribbean.

There is a sort of once-upon-a-time atmosphere, a fairy-tale charm about the place. Lush vegetation covers the one-time volcano from the rain forest of the summit all the way down to within a few hundred feet of the rocky shore. Pink grapefruit, mangoes, avocados, limes, oranges, bananas, papayas, and the grape-fleshed kemp are the sweet fruits of the island. The giant breadfruit also yields abundantly.

Doll-sized houses with white walls and red roofs cling to the mountainside, clustered together in picturesque villages known as Hell's Gate, the Windwardside, St. John's, and the Bottom — which, despite its name, is one-third of the way up the mountain. The altitude moderates the usual hot breath of the Caribbean so that air conditioning is unnecessary.

However you arrive — by boat at Fort Bay or on the postage stamp of an air strip on the other side of the island — the only way to any kind of civilization is straight up. Before motorized vehicles arrived in 1947 there were no roads on the island, only steps. Shank's mare was the only way to go, and the Sabans had as wily a set of legs as a Himalayan Sherpa. He also had a lot of patience, for no one climbs 1,000 feet in a hurry.

Finally autos became small enough and powerful enough (the Jeep was the first to arrive) to negotiate the sharp curves and steep inclines. Then the miles of winding steps were paved over and turned into narrow walled roads, no wider than an English country lane and just as pretty. It's low gear all the way, whether climbing up or checking the motor on the dizzying descents.

A Saban, it is said, is the only child in the Western world to grow up without a bicycle. "A bike," says Elmer Hassel who traces his family's arrival on the island back to 1878, "would be an absurdity here."

Some 1,000 people currently live on the island, but 6,000 Sabans or their direct descendants live elsewhere; 2,000 in the U.S. Fifty years ago the population stood at 2,200 before the exodus for better jobs began. Now a measure of prosperity is returning to the once-prosperous little island, and the resident population is beginning to climb again.

Saba's white residents are descended largely from English, Irish, Scottish, and some Dutch who settled the island not very long after the Pilgrim Fathers went to Massachusetts. The black population — some 45 percent — de-

scended from slaves emancipated in 1883. In this respect Saba was a Caribbean exception: Slaves never outnumbered the settlers as they did by wide margins on all other islands.

They get along well together. "We all must," says Mr. Hassel "on an island this small." At the base it is five square miles but the steep topography provides a much larger area on which to walk — or rather climb.

Until modern technology took its toll, cottage industries abounded on the island, eking out its former prosperity. It was, in fact, the shoemaking center of the Caribbean in the 17th and early 18th centuries, and Sabans always kept the sun off men's heads in far-away places. Now the cottage industries have disappeared — except for one.

A sign on a street corner led me to the home of Lester and Helen Peterson in the village of Windwardside. "Drawnthread handwork," it said, and an arrow pointed the direction.

In the latter half of the last century drawnthread work, also known as Spanish or Saba lace, was practiced extensively and the island became well-known for the skillfully worked linen. This delicate form of stitchery never died out completely, and today, with a growing appreciation for hand-crafted goods, coupled with an increase of tourists, the craft is re-surging somewhat.

Mrs. Peterson, a grandmother now, has worked at the craft all her adult life, and over the years has built up a clientele in various lands, principally in the U.S. When I was there she was completing some table place-mats for a woman who lives in Hawkeye, Iowa.

As we discussed the island, its people, and the special craft of drawnthread work I was able to look out at the million-dollar view which all residents of this lofty island are blessed with. I left with an attractively worked bun warmer cloth in my hands, priced at \$7. "I use only Irish linen or linen from Belgium," says Mrs. Peterson, "but it is becoming expensive now." Monogrammed hand towels were going for \$3.50 and a 9 by 6 foot ornate table cloth for \$125.

Some women, knowing when the small Windwardside plenitude arrives from St. Martin, peddle their wares to visiting tourists at the side of the road near the airstrip.

Saba lace, of course, brings some money to the island. Salaries (many Sabans work for the Antilles Government) have more than doubled in the past decade, and Saban products — fish, white potatoes, and bananas particularly — fetch good prices on neighboring islands. Tourism also boosts the economy.

Though the bulk of visitors come only for the day by plane or ship, there is limited accommodation in hotels and guesthouses. Cottages may also be rented by the week or month. The principal hotel, and the only one on the island with private baths, is The Captain's Quarters. The rooms are large and airy, and some even have four-poster beds. Like the island itself, the place has a charm all its own.

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## people



Armenian woman on a collective farm



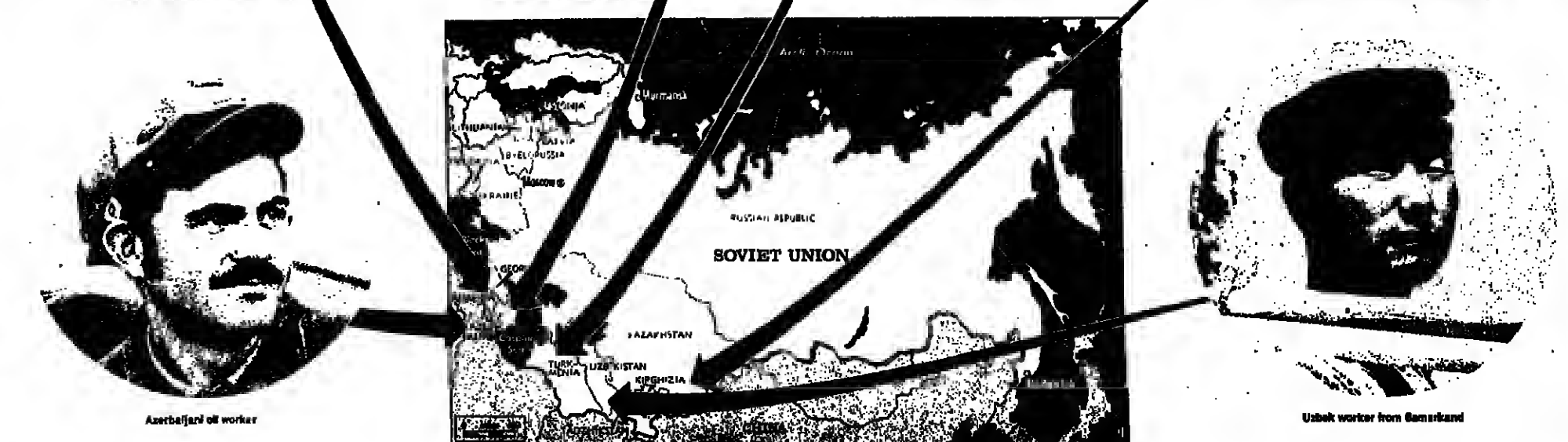
Flower seller in Soviet Dagestan



A native of Turkmenia



Head shepherd on collective farm in Kazakhstan



Azerbaijani oil worker

Uzbek worker from Samarkand

Photos by Stanley D. McElroy, Barbara Pons, Alan Sand, and Boris Kozlov

## U.S.S.R. not a melting pot

The Soviet Union is made up of many nationalities. But the American melting-pot theory does not apply to the Soviet situation. The ethnic minorities in the Soviet Union cling stubbornly to their traditions. And nationalism is the one issue that could focus the discontent of a populace that is otherwise politically apathetic.

By Elizabeth Pond  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

"We are a little colony of Russia — in 1976!" spat out one Georgian to a visitor in Tbilisi. "What wouldn't we be today if we weren't a colony of Russia?"

To Georgian, Baltic, and Central Asian cities, Russian ordering about of the smaller Soviet minorities is an insult to national identity. And the Soviet Union is an anomaly, the last empire in a post-colonial world.

To the Russians, however, who constitute 54 percent of the Soviet population and who dominate the country's political, economic, and cultural life, it is only natural that they are the "elder brothers" among the country's 104 recognized nationalities.

Where truth lies for the Soviet Union's 113 million non-Russians will determine the future tranquility of turbulence of Soviet life far more than any other domestic issue. The narrow class concern of intellectuals about freedom, chronic and therefore accustomed meat shortages, and an inefficient economy are all minor irritants in comparison with the potential dynamism of the nationalities question.

In an otherwise politically apathetic population, nationalism is the one issue that could catch the imagination of large masses and focus discontent against Moscow's leadership.

So far, however, the crisis that Western observers have long anticipated has not materialized. There has been no outbreak of anti-Russian riots since Army troops rushed to quell demonstrations in Kaunas, Lithuania, in 1972.

## Czarist empire prolonged

There are several reasons for Moscow's success to date in prolonging the old czarist empire. They include:

- Positive incentives, such as economic integration and development throughout the entire Soviet Union; access to the modern technological world through Russian ties; opportunities for Russified native leaders to join the governing elite and to share in the elite perquisites; and, for Central Asians, freedom from exhausting local warfare, as well as dramatically improved education, health care, and standard of living under Soviet rule.

- Such neutral factors as tolerance of local culture within certain bounds.

- Negative penalties, through authoritarianism, of the withholding of real power to dissident, Byelorussian, and Ukrainian) second secretaries in the all-important Communist Parties in the republics; firm Russian control of police and especially secret police forces in all the republics; suppression of the race nationalist uprisings; Slav emigration to minority regions, and especially to their capital cities; dispersal of Army recruits so that national units do not form and serve in their own republics; and lethal purges of local communist leaders in the 1930s and less lethal purges in Latvia in the 1950s, and in the Ukraine in the 1970s.

## Soviet policy varies

Soviet policy on nationalities has followed many zigzags. The Reds first promised autonomy to the various nationalities when they ousted the Whites for non-Russian loyalties. As the old Russian empire dissolved in civil war,

As the Bolsheviks (later the most ruthless centralizer of all, the Georgian Joseph Stalin) consolidated their power, however, they renege on their promises. They sent the Red

Army in to suppress attempts at autonomy in Georgia and elsewhere; they forcibly settled Central Asian nomads; they liquidated their own national communist leaderships.

Legally, the 15 Soviet republics are equal, and each has the right to secede. In practice, however, any "local" leaders suspected of "bourgeois nationalism" or even economic localism are swiftly dispensed with. And ordinary citizens who raise this issue — like the 14 Armenians sentenced in 1974 for proposing a referendum on secession — can expect jail terms.

Such control by Moscow is justified, ideologically by the argument that a centralized, nationwide proletarian party and the planned centralized economy must always take top priority.

Under Khrushchev and Brezhnev the goal has been "rapprochement," a "growing together" of the various nationalities leading to an undifferentiated, "united" Soviet people.

The concept is comparable to the American "melting pot" theory.

## A 'nonmelting' pot

But here the pot's contents refuse to melt. This leads to chronic disguised arguments about "Russification" in education, versions of history, and urban populations in the national republics.

Baltians complain Slav labor is brought in for new factories and that incoming Russian engineers get apartments in a year, while Latvians have to wait five years.

Estonian clerics refuse to sell their churches wares to Russian customers. Lithuanians cling to their Roman Catholic heritage both as a religion and as a national fortress against encroaching atheistic Slavs.

Half of the national republics the younger generation, which has grown up amid Soviet preaching about the withering away of nationalism, still attends to university studies in the native languages, literature, and histories. Competition runs as high as 45 applicants for every available opening in these studies.

In addition, fierce disputes rage, especially in Georgia just now, over pressures from Moscow to increase attendance at Russian-language, rather than native-language, elementary schools, and to make Russian-language dissertations compulsory at university level.

The minority republics accommodate to the strains in varied ways. Georgians maintain their own mild-Stalin cult, boycott the Russian-language elementary schools, and thrive on political double entendres.

Estonians quietly limit their own factories (and thereby any influx of Slav workers); run a much more efficient economy than the Russians, with as much self-reliance as possible; and consequently enjoy the highest standard of living in the Soviet Union.

Ukrainians play for the highest stakes, engaging in factional maneuvering for the top Soviet leadership in Moscow.

## Slavic nationalism response

When they stop to think about it, the Russians worry about anti-Russian nationalism. And they tend to respond with a Slavic nationalism — some term it chauvinism — of their own. The fears of Slavs are especially aroused when they compare the high Central Asian birthrate with the low Slav birthrate and anticipate that in a few years Russians themselves will be a minority in the Soviet Union.

Western specialists on Soviet nationalities problems contend Moscow is not immune to the centrifugal demands for independence that broke up all the other great empires in the postwar world. Certainly, the potential for trouble could be swiftly realized during a war or other prolonged turmoil.

So far, however, economic self-interest and police sanctions have kept the Soviet Union together.

Elizabeth Pond, formerly the Monitor's Moscow-based correspondent, returned recently to the United States after spending two years in the Soviet Union.

Third in a series



## home

## The care and feeding of fine Oriental rugs

Special In  
The Christian Science Monitor

A really fine Oriental rug will give the purchaser a lot of mileage at minimum expense. The upkeep is low — and easy. It is not necessary, as many people assume, to send an Oriental rug to the cleaners every year for a professional "bath."

"Don't send it to the cleaners until it is dirty," is the advice of experts. With proper care, it should not be necessary to send an Oriental rug to the cleaners for three or four years, or even longer, depending on the "traffic," according to experts.

If "proper care" they mean brushing the rug with a broom or carpet sweeper every day or so, followed by a weekly once over with the vacuum cleaner. If the rug is subjected to heavy traffic where dirt and dust are tracked in from outside, then more frequent vacuuming would be necessary.

In fact, sand and grit should be removed promptly before being ground into a rug where they can cut the fibers.

A fine Oriental rug can take a lot of punishment and still survive for many years.

Harold Keshishian, a trustee of the Textile Museum in Washington, D.C., and an authority on Oriental rugs and their care, cited the case of the Pazyryk rug which hangs in the Hermitage Museum in Leningrad.

This rug was discovered some 2,400 years ago in the tomb of a royal Scythian family in the Altai mountain range of Southern Siberia. A grave robber, burrowing into the tomb, created a tunnel through which water leaked into the funeral chamber to freeze, and preserve this now famous rug, "the oldest rug known to men," Mr. Keshishian says.

Freezing does not seem a very practical way to preserve a rug these days, but washing can help — not in the washer — but on the floor. Charles W. Jacobsen, an authority on Oriental rugs suggests that one wash one's own Oriental carpets. He insists it can be done safely and effectively with a sponge or hand brush, using certain oil-based soaps manufactured for the purpose.

One of the most important rug-savers is the

most basic of all — the pad. Most Oriental rugs call for a pad of jute hair, rubberized on both sides to prevent skidding.

The pad should be one-quarter to one-half inch shorter than the rug, according to Mr. Keshishian. He does not recommend foam rubber because it has more give, he says, and therefore a tendency to skid.

As for spots and stains, the most important thing to do is to attack them at once. Keep spot-removers on hand. For grease spots, use rug cleansers such as K-2, Gudslands Spot Remover, or other well-known products.

Not all spots call for the use of commercial formulas. Sometimes a simple homemade formula will do. For instance, white household vinegar and warm water (one part vinegar to two parts water) is sufficient to remove certain types of stains.

A "first aid" in case of coffee or soft drink stains is water — lots of it as soon as possible to dilute the spill. Such stains, if extensive, will usually require a chemical follow-up or the services of a professional rug cleaner.

Some stains will respond to the combination of a mild detergent and lukewarm water — a teaspoon of detergent to a cup of water.

If you have animals in the house, beware of urine stains which often go unnoticed, particularly on a figured Oriental rug. These spots, if not removed immediately, result in dry rot.

A new 13-page booklet published by the Association of Interior Decor Specialists, Inc., deals with various methods of stain removal and general care of carpets, rugs, draperies, and upholstery. It is called "Aids to Interior Decor Fabric Care," and may be obtained, free of charge, by addressing a request, with self-addressed and stamped long envelope (7½ by 4 inches) to AIDS International, 1815 North Fort Meyer Drive, Arlington, Virginia 22209.

Mr. Jacobsen's books, which are also helpful and specific on the subject of Oriental rugs, may be found in public libraries. One, entitled, "Checkpoints on How to Buy Oriental Rugs," has a special chapter on "Care of Oriental Rugs." Another book by the same author is "Oriental Rugs — A Complete Guide." Publisher, Charles E. Tuttle Company, Rutland, Vermont.



In Tehran carpets are washed in the river and then placed on rocks to dry

By Gordon N. Converse, chief photographer

## For children: How to build a terrarium

By Judith Helms

If you go to any garden or plant store you will see elaborate and expensive equipment for making terrariums. Here are some ideas for creating your own indoor garden or terrarium, and having some summer fun as well. These make nice gifts for others too, especially for someone you may know who does not get outdoors very often.

For equipment you will need:

- A large jar (with a fairly wide neck) or a fishbowl.
- Some charcoal which can be bought in small quantities of plant or pet store.
- Soil.
- Pebbles.

Now look for little plants growing close to the ground; you might find checkerberry or hog cranberry (both of which have small shiny leaves and red berries), partridgeberry, tiny ferns, hepatica, twinberry, or even tiny wild violets. Little sprouts of spruce and pine trees are pretty too. Mosses and lichens are lovely and add lots of color to the scene. Dig up your plants carefully, being sure to take a little ball of earth around the roots. Be careful and considerate. Don't take more plants than you can really use.

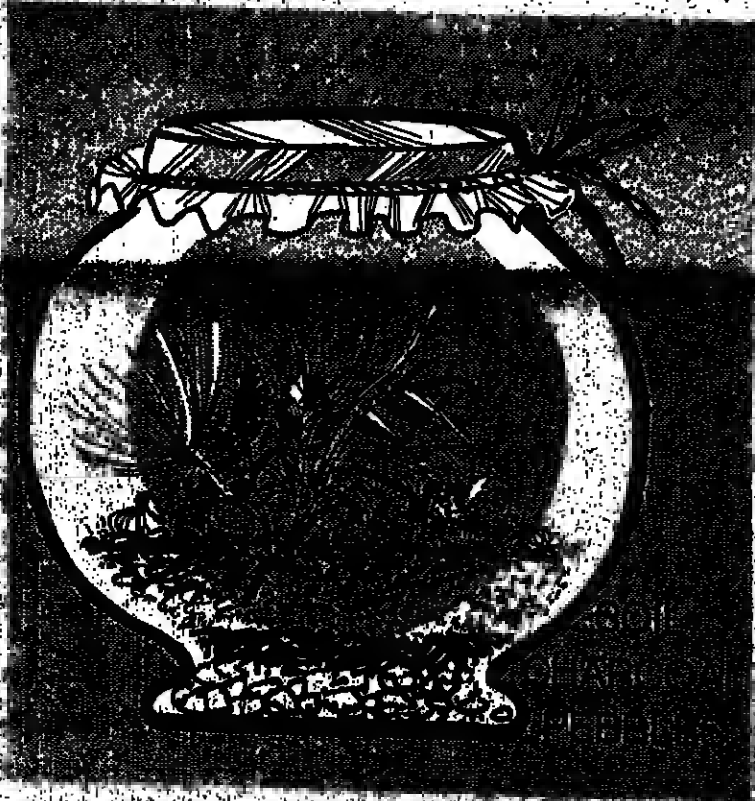
To prepare and plant your terrarium first place a layer of pebbles to the bottom of the container, then add about a half-inch of charcoal. Top this with some soil and then arrange your plants carefully in the soil. Think about how they will look together and

make an attractive arrangement. Water the terrarium until it is moist, not soaked, and then cover the top tightly with the plastic wrap. You may want to hold the plastic wrap on with a ribbon or a colorful piece of yarn. As the water evaporates from the soil

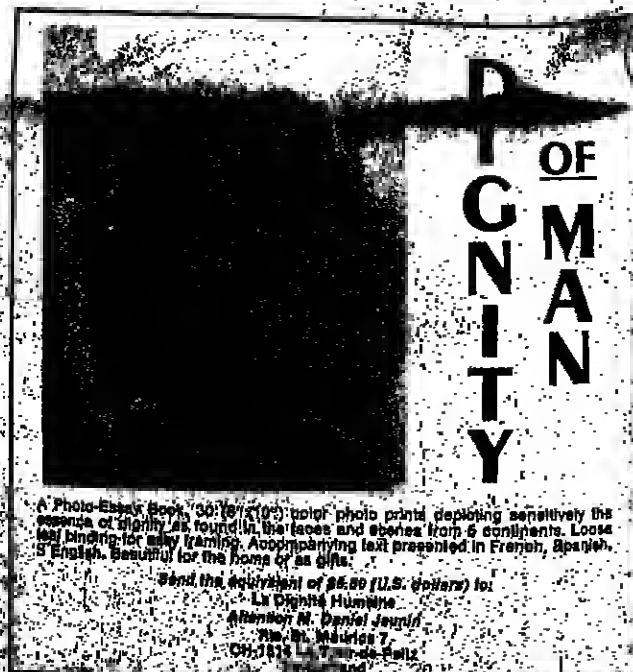
it will form little drops on the plastic wrap. These will then fall back into the soil in a little "rainstorm," keeping it moist. If it seems to be soaking wet remove the top for a day or two and let the soil dry out a bit.

If you give your terrarium as a gift it might be fun to write on a little tag the names of all the plants in the little garden, and where you found them. You might like to do the same thing for yourself and keep your list in a small notebook!

Happy collecting!



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## financial

## Newfoundland — how to exploit its riches

By Guy Halverson  
Business and financial correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

St. John's, Newfoundland  
Newfoundland, Canada's easternmost province, has long been known as a virtual treasure chest of resources: rich iron ore and uranium deposits, hydroelectric power, large game stocks and timber resources, an intelligent and industrious work force, and perhaps most important, what are believed to be important new offshore oil and gas deposits.

But large top government and industry leaders here are a troubling question. Will the province — within the foreseeable future at least — actually be developed?

Furthermore, will whatever economic development that does come be carefully managed, with ultimate control staying in the hands of Newfoundlanders? Or, will control, as international oil companies and other large-scale entrepreneurs move here, pass to others — perhaps even to non-Canadians?

Development is important to Newfoundland. It offers the possibility of more and better-paying jobs for the province's 300,000 people, a population living in an area larger than some 11 U.S. states. At present, unemployment is running a whopping 15 to 20 percent. Much of that is seasonal joblessness, however, and related to the sagging fishing industry.

Other problems lie ahead:

- A new kind of separatism — the desire of some residents of mainland Labrador to establish a new province separate from the island of Newfoundland — could become stronger in the next few years. If successful, it could remove the rich hydroelectric and mining operations of Labrador from the control of the provincial government in St. John's.

There is some concern here that political in-

terests in Quebec would not be totally unhappy to see Labrador (adjacent to eastern Quebec) split away from Newfoundland.

- Many talented and ambitious young people continue to leave the province for the big cities of mainland Canada and their better job opportunities.

Deputy Minister for Industrial Development A. J. Roche emphasizes that development of industrial and mineral resources is absolutely "vital" to the province.

Says one government official: "We just can't do it on our own. That's why we're genuinely welcoming outside investment and technical expertise."

The provincial government is now directly creating investment from the U.S. and a number of Western European nations, including Norway, Sweden, Finland, West Germany, France, and the United Kingdom, and Italy.

Provincial officials cite a number of phases for attracting new industry:

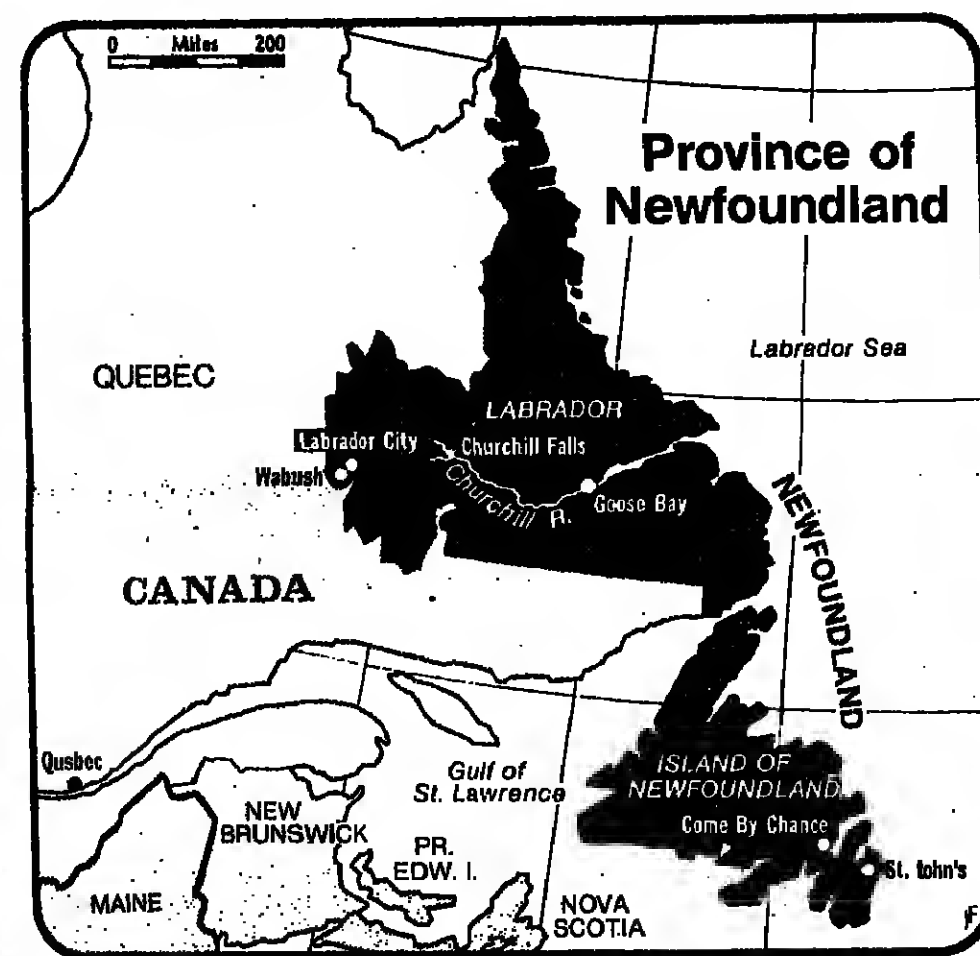
- Special financial incentives available to companies seeking to relocate here.

- A highly motivated, stable labor force that is family-oriented and deeply attached to the province. Indeed, Newfoundland, as local officials are quick to note, is the oldest continually settled part of North America. Some families are able to trace their roots back three centuries.

- An increasingly urban society. The two major cities of St. John's and Corner Brook are now the twin hubs of the province. In historic St. John's new mini-shopping complexes stretch out in all directions. Homes are neatly maintained, and often freshly painted in dazzling bright colors — rich reds, greens, and yellows.

- Service industries, particularly in the food area, are considered first-rate.

Perhaps most important in assessing New-



foundland's future is the whole matter of oil and gas deposits. The question about oil and gas, according to Steven M. Millan, Assistant Deputy Minister of Energy, is now not whether such deposits exist offshore, but rather how big and where.

To date, says Jean Louis Cornet, operations manager for Eastcan, Ltd., one of the main oil companies operating in Newfoundland waters, some \$100 million or so has been spent on oil-gas exploration.

There have been at least three gas finds, one suggesting oil deposits. This has prompted enthusiastic talk here about Newfoundland becoming a new "Norway."

Some analysts here believe there will be a federal-provincial struggle over Newfoundland oil and gas — with Ottawa interested in using the oil and gas to light Toronto and Montreal homes, and Newfoundland seeking to use the energy sources for its own industrial development.

## From the company that brought you Leica cameras...

By David Mutch  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Wetzlar, Germany

What do people around the world think about when asked to name a really fine technical product? Polls have shown that the first thing that comes to mind is a Mercedes-Benz.

The next thing is a Leica camera.

The Leica is made by Ernst Leitz Wetzlar GMBH, situated in the north of the state of Hessen.

From the beginning the firm has been known not only for its uncompromising quality but for its innovations.

To produce the kind of quality microscopes, cameras, and precision measuring equipment that keep the firm's name on top, it had to develop much of its own manufacturing equipment and assembly methods.

The kind of precision optical equipment produced here demanded the type of machine tools that just weren't on the market.

"So we just had to make them ourselves," said Knut Rattmann, chief of the research and development division.

Other firms often come to Leitz for custom machines and for special jobs. Now 80 percent of the turnover of this optical company is in the area of instruments and precision machine tools.

## Manufacturing innovations

The Leica innovation holds true for assembly methods. "We must keep tolerances under two millionths of an inch when assembling the lens systems of a fine microscope," says Mr. Rattmann.

These assembly methods are guarded secrets. "We know that the Japanese these days can do all the computations in optics and make fine lenses, but we feel we are ahead of them in realizing the results of the computations — that is, putting the product together."

The firm also is pioneering in the field of optoelectronics, which combines optics and electronics in many technological areas.

"Already computers can respond to voice commands," Mr. Rattmann says. "The next step in optics and electronics is to automate image processing."

Mr. Rattmann is deeply concerned that the role of optics

companies could fall behind that of electronics firms in this process.

"We could be left just selling parts to them," Mr. Rattmann says. All of the big electronics companies now have optics departments.

"But our firm has decided to influence the interface of optics and electronics," he says.

## Advantages to optics

He explained that optics have advantages the electronics firms overlook. A lens in almost any system can help integrate information more quickly and cheaply than electronics alone, he says. So Leitz wants to strike the most advantageous balance between optical and electronic methods in the new systems that will help manufacturers and researchers in the future.

Leitz, with its tradition of custom work and a wide range of consultation and user advisory services, is convinced the rapidly changing field of optics has room for what it has always stood for — quality, dependability, and innovation.

In 1849 the founder of the firm, Carl Zeiss, wanted to build telescopes, but German professors wanted microscopes. So he built them. But Leitz was advised by all his experts not to build telescopes in 1849. He overruled them all because he had used a prototype that worked — and in the 1850s the Leitz had become 60 percent of the firm's business, perhaps saving it from bankruptcy.

Leitz managers today want to stay just as flexible.

## Foreign exchange cross-rates

By reading across this table of last Tuesday's mid-day international foreign exchange rates, one can find the value of the major currencies in the national currencies of each of the following financial centers. These rates do not take into account bank service charges. (a) = commercial rate.

	U.S. Dollar	British Pound	German Mark	French Franc	Dutch Guilder	Belgian Franc	Swiss Franc
New York	1.0000	.7564	2.4836	6.5595	3.7603	23.3603	1.4936
London	.7564	1.0000	3.3637	9.3693	5.3603	33.3603	1.6336
Frankfurt	2.4836	3.3637	1.0000	6.5595	3.7603	23.3603	1.4936
Paris	6.5595	9.3693	6.5595	1.0000	5.3603	33.3603	1.6336
Amsterdam	3.7603	5.3603	3.7603	5.3603	1.0000	23.3603	1.4936
Brussels	33.3603	33.3603	33.3603	33.3603	23.3603	1.0000	1.4936
Zurich	1.4936	1.6336	1.4936	1.6336	1.4936	1.4936	1.0000

The following are U.S. dollar values only: Argentina peso: 2071 (a); Australian dollar: 1.2278; Danish krone: 1986; Italian lire: 2036.00; Japanese yen: 236.00; New Zealand dollar: 2.06; South African rand: 1.49.

Source: First National Bank of Boston, Boston

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# French/German

## L'U.R.S.S. n'est pas un creuset

[Extraits d'un article paraissant en anglais à la page 21]

par Elizabeth Pond  
Ecrit spécialement  
pour The Christian Science Monitor

Moscou  
Nous sommes une petite colonie de la Russie — en 1976 — glapit un Géorgien à un visiteur à Tbilissi. « Que ne serions-nous pas aujourd'hui si nous n'étions pas une colonie de la Russie ? »

Pour les critiques géorgiennes, baltes et de l'Asie centrale, la fait que les Russes régissent les petites minorités soviétiques est une insulte à l'identité nationale. Et l'Union soviétique est une anomalie; le dernier empire dans un monde post-colonial.

Pour les Russes, toutefois, qui forment 53,4% de la population soviétique et qui dominent en vie politique, économique et culturelle, il n'est que naturel qu'ils soient les « grands frères » dans un pays comprenant 104 nationalités reconnues.

Ce qui arrivera aux 113 millions de non Russes de l'Union soviétique déterminera la tranquillité ou la turbulence futures de la vie soviétique bien plus que toute autre question intérieure. La préoccupation de classe éternelle des intellectuels au sujet de la liberté, la pénurie de viande chronique et par conséquent habituelle, et une économie inefficace sont autant de raisons d'irritation mineures comparativement à la dynamique en puissance qu'est la question des nationalités.

Dans une population politiquement apathique sous d'autres rapports, le nationalisme est l'unique question qui pourrait saisir l'imaginaire de masses importantes et faire converger le mécontentement contre le dirigisme de Moscou.

Néanmoins, jusqu'à présent, la crise que les observateurs occidentaux ont anticipée depuis longtemps n'a pas pris

corps. Il n'y a pas eu d'éclat d'émeutes anti-russes depuis que les troupes armées se sont précipitées pour réprimer les manifestations de Kaunas en Lituanie en 1972.

Il y a plusieurs raisons pour que Moscou n'ait réussi jusqu'à présent à prolonger le vieil empire des tsars. Elles comprennent :

- Des stimulants positifs, tels que l'intégration et le développement économiques d'un bout à l'autre de toute l'Union soviétique, l'accès au monde technologique moderne grâce aux attaches russes, des occasions pour les chefs indigènes russifiés de se joindre à l'élite gouvernementale et de partager les bénéfices de l'élite et, pour les habitants de l'Asie centrale, l'effranchissement des guerres locales épuisantes, ainsi qu'une amélioration spectaculaire de l'instruction, de la santé, de l'hygiène et de la qualité de la vie sous le gouvernement des Soviets.

- Des facteurs naturels tels que la tolérance envers la culture locale dans une certaine limite.

- Des sanctions négatives résultant d'un gouvernement autoritaire, l'attribution du pouvoir réel à des secrétaires en second Slaves (Russes, Biélorusses, Ukrainiens) dans les parties communistes de toute première importance dans les républiques; le ferma contrôle russe de la police et, en particulier de la police secrète dans toutes les républiques; la répression des rares soulèvements nationalistes; l'émigration slave dans les régions où se trouvent des minorités et surtout dans leurs capitales; la dispersion des recrues afin que des unités militaires nationales ne puissent se former et servir leur propre république; les purges mortelles des leaders communistes locaux des années 30, celles moins mortelles en Lettonie des années 50 et en Ukraine des années 70.

La politique soviétique au sujet des nationalités a fait bien des zigzags. Les Russes ont promis d'abord l'autonomie

sous diverses nationalités quand ils firent de la surenchère aux Blancs pour obtenir des loyalismes non russes, quand le vieil empire russe s'écroula dans la guerre civile.

Toutefois, à mesure que les Bolcheviks (sous le centralisateur le plus impitoyable de tous, le Géorgien Joseph Staline) consolidaient leur pouvoir, ils renièrent leurs promesses. Ils envoyèrent l'Armée Rouge en Géorgie et ailleurs pour supprimer les tentatives d'autonomie, ils forcèrent les nomades de l'Asie centrale à devenir sédentaires, ils liquidèrent leurs propres chefs communistes nationaux.

Légalement, les 15 républiques soviétiques sont égales et chacune a le droit de faire sécession. Dans la pratique, toutefois, n'importe lequel des leaders locaux suspectés de « nationalisme bourgeois » ou même de favoriser l'économie locale est rapidement mis au rebut. Et les citoyens ordinaires qui soulèvent cette question — comme les quatorze Arméniens condamnés en 1974 pour avoir proposé un référendum sur la sécession — peuvent s'attendre à être condamnés à des peines d'emprisonnement.

Un tel contrôle de Moscou est justifié idéologiquement par l'argument qu'un parti prolétarien national centralisé et une économie planifiée doivent toujours être au tout premier plan.

Sous Khrouchtchev et Brejnev le but a été la « rapprochement », une « érosion » côte à côte des diverses nationalités aboutissant à un peuple soviétique « unifié » sans différences. Ce concept est comparable à la théorie du creuset américain.

Mais ici le contenu du creuset refuse de fondre. Cela conduit à des discussions chroniques, déguisées au sujet de la « russification » dans l'instruction, des versions de l'histoire, et des populations urbaines dans les républiques nationales.

Les Lettons se plaignent parce que

lo moins d'œuvre slave est importée pour les nouvelles usines et que les ingénieurs russes qui arrivent obtiennent des appartements en un an, alors que les Lettons doivent attendre cinq ans.

Les vendeurs estoniens refusent de vendre leurs meilleurs produits aux clients russes. Les Lituanais s'accrochent à leur héritage catholique romain aussi bien en tant que religion que comme une forteresse nationale contre l'empirisme de l'athéisme des slaves.

Dans toutes les républiques nationales la jeune génération, qui a grandi au milieu de la prédication soviétique au sujet du flétrissement du nationalisme, se jette encore dans les études universitaires de langues, littéraires et historiques indigènes. La concurrence est jusqu'à 45 candidats pour chaque des places disponibles pour ce genre d'études.

De plus, de violents querelles ont surgi, surtout en Géorgie en ce moment même, à propos des pressions de Moscou pour augmenter l'assistance dans les écoles élémentaires de langue russe plutôt que dans celles de langue géorgienne et pour rendre les dissertations en langue russe obligatoires ou même universitaires.

Les républiques minoritaires s'accrochent de façon diverse à ces tensions : les Géorgiens conservent leur propre mini-culte de Staline, ils boycottent les écoles élémentaires de langue russe et font des gorges chaudes de sous-entendus politiques à double sens.

Les Estoniens limitent tranquillement leurs nouvelles usines (et ainsi toute affluence de travailleurs slaves), leur économie est bien plus efficiente que celle des Russes, avec autant d'indépendance que possible et par conséquent ils jouissent du niveau de vie le plus élevé de l'Union soviétique.

Les Ukrainiens jouent pour la mise à plus grosse, s'engageant dans des manœuvres de faction pour obtenir le pouvoir suprême à Moscou.

[Ausschnitt aus einem Artikel, der auf Seite 21 in englischer Sprache erscheint.]

Von Elizabeth Pond  
Sonderbericht  
für den  
Christian Science Monitor

Moskau  
« Wir sind heute, im Jahre 1978, eine kleine Kolonie Russlands », sagte ein Georgier zu einem Besucher in Tbilissi. « Was wären wir heute nicht, wenn wir nicht eine Kolonie Russlands wären ? »

Für georgische, baltische und zentralasiatische Kritiker ist die Tatsache, daß Rußland den kleineren sowjetischen Minderheiten Vorschriften macht, eine Verletzung der nationalen Identität. Die Sowjetunion ist eine Anomalie: das letzte Imperium in einer Welt, in der der Kolonialismus sein Ende gefunden hat.

Für die Russen jedoch, die 53,4 Prozent der sowjetischen Bevölkerung ausmachen und das politische, wirtschaftliche und kulturelle Leben beherrschen,

Es hat keine anti-russische Erhebung gegeben, seit Truppen eingesetzt wurden, um 1972 die Demonstrationen in Kaunas, Litauen, niederzuwerfen. Es gibt mehrere Gründe für Moskaus bisherigen Erfolg, das alte Zarenreich fortzusetzen:

- Positiver Ansporn, wie z. B. wirtschaftliche Eingliederung und Entwicklung in der gesamten Sowjetunion; Zugang zu modernen technologischen Gütern; russische Beziehungen; Gelegenheiten für russifizierte Einzelkinder, in die regierende Elite aufgenommen zu werden und sich die Zentralstaaten ein Ende der erschöpften lokalen Kriege, ein drastisch verbessertes Erziehungsprogramm, bessere Gesundheitsfürsorge und ein besserer Lebensstandard unter sowjetischer Herrschaft.

- Spätere natürliche Faktoren wie Toleranz gegenüber der örtlichen Kultur innerhalb festgelegter Grenzen.

- Negative Strafen durch autoritäre Herrschaft, die Erteilung wirklicher

und sie die Weißen in dem Versuch, die Nichtrussen für sich zu gewinnen, überboten.

Als sich dann die Bolschewisten (unter dem skrupellosen Organisator aller, nämlich dem Georgier Josef Stalin) zusammenschlossen, hielten sie jedoch nicht ihre Versprechen. Sie schickten die Rote Armee nach Georgien und in andere Gebiete, um Versuche, die Autonomie zu erlangen, zu unterdrücken; sie machten die zentralasiatischen Nomaden mit Gewalt seßhaft; sie besetzten die bodenständige nationale kommunistische Führerschaft.

Leut Gesetz sind die 15 Sowjetrepubliken gleichgestellt, und jede hat das Recht, sich loszulösen. In Wirklichkeit aber wird mit örtlichen Führern, die unter dem Verdacht, bürgerlichen Nationalismus stehen oder daß sie wirtschaftlich ihre Republik begünstigen, kurzer Prozeß gemacht und gewöhnliche Bürger, die diese Frage aufwerfen — wie die 14 Armenier, die 1974 verurteilt wurden, weil sie ein Referendum über die Loslösung vorschlugen —

hereingebracht werden und daß neu zugezogene russische Ingenieure Wohnungen in einem Jahr erhalten, während die Letten fünf Jahre warten müssen.

Estländische Angestellte verkaufen ihre besten Waren nicht an russische Kunden. Die Litauer halten an ihrem römisch-katholischen Erbe fest — als Religion und als nationaler Schutz gegen die eindringenden atheistischen Slawen. In all den nationalen Republiken strömt die jüngere Generation, die inmitten der sowjetischen Lehren über das Nachlassen des Nationalitätsgefühls aufgewachsen ist, noch immer zur Universität, um Kurse in ihrer Muttersprache, ihrer Literatur und Geschichte zu belegen. Der Andrang ist groß — um jeden freien Platz in diesen Studienfächern bewerben sich etwa 45 Studenten.

Außerdem sind häufige Auseinandersetzungen im Gange — vor allem jetzt in Georgien — über den von Moskau ausgeübten Druck, den Basis der russischsprachigen Grundschulen anzuheben in den sowjetischen Universitäten zur Pflicht zu machen, daß Dissertationen in russischer Sprache geschrieben werden.

Die Republiken der Minderheiten passen sich dem Druck auf verschiedene Art und Weise an. Die Georgier erhalten ihren eigenen „Mini-Stalin-Kult“ und boykottieren die russischsprachigen Grundschulen und machen sich die politische Doppelmoraligkeit zunutze.

Die Estländer beschränken im stillen die Zahl ihrer neuen Fabriken (und dadurch den Zustrom slawischer Arbeiter). Sie betreiben eine viel erfolgreichere Wirtschaft als die Russen und behaupten so weit wie möglich ihre Selbstständigkeit. Als Folge davon erziehen sie sich des höchsten Lebensstandards in der Sowjetunion.

Die Ukrainer haben sich die höchste Zahl gesetzlich anerkannter eigenständiger „unabhängiger“ sowjetischer Regionen in Moskau zu gelangen.

Was mit den in der Sowjetunion lebenden 113 Millionen Nichtrussen geschieht, wird die zukünftige Ruhe oder Unruhe des sowjetischen Lebens weit mehr bestimmen als irgendeine endogen innenpolitische Frage. Die englischen Sorgen der intellektuellen Klasse über die Freiheit, die chronische und daher gewöhnliche Fleischknappheit und eine unzulängliche Wirtschaft, dies alles sind Ergebnisse von geringer Bedeutung, verglichen mit dem potentiellen Dynamik der Nationalitätenfrage.

In einer sonst politisch gleichgültigen Bevölkerung ist der Nationalismus die einzige Frage, die große Menschenmassen dazu aufwecken könnte, sich in ihrer Unzufriedenheit gegen die Führung Moskaus zu wenden.

Es ist jedoch die Krise, die westliche Beobachter schon lange erwartet haben, noch nicht eingetreten.

Die Sowjetunion hat in ihrer Behandlung der Nationalitäten einen Zickzackkurs verfolgt. Zuerst versprochen die Roten den verschiedenen Nationalitäten Autonomie, als sich das alte russische Reich durch den Bürgerkrieg auflöste

unter einer zentralisierten, das ganze Land umfassenden proletarischen Partei und unter der Vorherrschaft der russischen Nationalität, der Vorrang eingeräumt werden.

Unter Chruschtschow und Breschnew war das Ziel „Herstellung freundschaftlicher Beziehungen“ ein „Zusammenwachsen“ der verschiedenen Nationalitäten, was zu einem einheitlichen „sozialistischen Volk“ führen sollte. Diese Vorstellung läßt sich mit der amerikanischen Theorie des Schmelztiegels vergleichen.

Aber hier will der Inhalt des Tiegels einfach nicht schmelzen. Dies führt zu immer wieder auftretenden verärgerten Argumenten über die Russifizierung des Erziehungswesens, geschichtlichen Aufzeichnungen und des Staatsbegriffs in den nationalen Republiken.

Die Letten beklagen sich, daß die wenigen Arbeitskräfte für neue Fabriken

# French/German

[This religious article appears in English on the Home Forum page]  
Traduction de l'article religieux paraissant en anglais sur la page The Home Forum  
(une traduction française est publiée chaque semaine)

## N'ayez pas de crainte

Craindre une chose ou l'autre parait normal dans l'existence humaine. Parfois — mais seulement quand nous utilisons ce mot trop à la légère — nous pensons que jusqu'à un certain point la crainte est nécessaire pour survivre, comme lorsque nous apprenons à un enfant qu'il y a danger à traverser une rue à grand trafic ou que nous mettons en garde quelqu'un qui a commencé à prendre des drogues contre la menace que l'avenir peut lui réserver.

Mais dans le sens le plus élevé, dans de tels cas nous n'essayons pas d'inculquer la crainte, mais de faire en sorte que la personne devienne consciente de la nécessité d'usage de prudence. Dans ce cas il n'y a pas de mal à en être conscient.

La crainte qui fait du tort n'est pas une prudence avisée, mais un pressentiment agité de malheur, le sentiment chronique d'anxiété et de préoccupation — il n'est pas nécessaire de le décrire plus amplement. La Science Chrétienne a une réponse à une telle crainte, la réponse de la paix et de la domination fournies si abondamment par les enseignements de la Bible. La base de cette réponse est la totalité et la bonté de Dieu, et la perfection de l'homme à Son image.

Ce ne sont pas simplement des mots de réconfort dont nous avons besoin, mais l'assurance profonde et ample — l'assurance qu'au-delà de notre crainte, au-delà

de ce qui semble la substance du mal qui pourrait être, se trouve une réalité qui ne connaît rien d'antagoniste à notre bonté et à notre bonheur. Ces paroles de Christ Jésus, « ne crains point, petit troupeau; car votre Père a trouvé bon de vous donner le royaume », comptent plus qu'un réconfort, plus qu'une déclaration facile et amiable.

Il n'est pas très utile de dire à quelqu'un : « N'ayez pas de crainte. » Souvent la crainte n'est pas surmontée aussi facilement. Mais Jésus disait beaucoup plus que cela. Il se référait à la condition spirituelle de l'auditeur, à votre condition spirituelle et à la mesure, au-delà de toute l'évidence qui soutient nos craintes. Il nous dit que la Science Chrétienne répète avec une clarté merveilleuse, savoir que la présence suprême, Dieu, le Père de tous, soutient tout bien-être — le royaume des cieux que nous pouvons trouver au-delà de nous-mêmes. Et qu'il n'y a rien qui puisse bien contrecarrer Son soutien ou nous en priver ? Rien !

Mais ce n'est rien — peut paraître si persuasif. Mary Baker Eddy, Découvreur et Fondateur de la Science Chrétienne, donne aux expériences nouvelles par lesquelles nous passons le nom de simples craintes. Mais elle ne relâche jamais son insistance

sur le fait que la croyance au mal doit être corrigée, éradiquée, surmontée par la compréhension de la totalité et de la bonté de Dieu. Elle dit, par exemple : « Puisque Dieu est Tout, il n'y a pas de place pour la dissimulation. Seul, Dieu, l'Esprit, crée tout, et dit que cela était bon. Donc le mal, étant contraire au bien, est irréel, et ne peut être le produit de Dieu. »

C'est là la vérité fondamentale, de même que la Science Chrétienne réitère les enseignements de Jésus. Il y a une autre déclaration de Mrs. Eddy qui peut avoir une signification très spécifique pour nous quand nous semblons entourés par la crainte — il y a de nombreuses déclarations de ce genre, ainsi que tout lecteur s'en apercevra, mais celle-ci peut signifier quelque chose de spécial particulièrement aux paroles de Jésus citées ci-dessus. Elle dit : « Qu'importe si la croyance est la tuberculose ! Dieu importe plus à l'homme que sa croyance, et moins nous admettrons la matière et ses lois, plus nous possédons l'immortalité. »

Jésus a dit que Dieu « a trouvé bon » de nous donner le bien. La volonté et la voie de Dieu remplissent tout prétexte mal dans notre existence. Dieu importe plus à l'homme que le mal, quel qu'il soit. Il nous importe plus que toutes nos craintes, on

dépité de ce que celles-ci peuvent être. Pour ne plus craindre le mal, nous devons finalemment nous rendre compte que dans l'univers de Dieu, qui est bon — et il n'existe qu'un univers — le mal est irréel, inconnu. Donc même au milieu de la crainte dans notre existence humaine — de la croyance en ce qui n'est pas de Dieu — nous pouvons avoir confiance en la véritable substance, la substance du bien. Nous n'avons pas besoin d'avoir peur même de nos craintes, parce que la bonté et l'amour de Dieu envers nous sont tout ce qui existe réellement.

Nous pouvons ressentir la paix ici et maintenant ainsi qu'un véritable épanouissement de bien venant du Père pour enlancer cette paix.

\*Luc 12:32: « Science et Santé avec la Clé des Ecritures », p. 338; « Science et Santé », p. 423.

\*Christian Science prononce « l'eternité » éternelle

La traduction française du livre d'étude de la Science Chrétienne, « Science et Santé avec la Clé des Ecritures » de Mary Baker Eddy, écrite avec le texte anglais en regard. On peut l'acheter dans les Salles de Lecture de la Science Chrétienne, ou le commandeur à Frances C. Carlson, Publisher's Agent, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.

Pour tous renseignements sur les autres publications de la Science Chrétienne en français, écrire à The Christian Science Publishing Society, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.

[This religious article appears in English on the Home Forum page]

Übersetzung des auf der Home-Forum-Seite in englischer Sprache erscheinenden Artikels  
(Eine deutsche Übersetzung erscheint wöchentlich)

## Fürchte dich nicht!

## L'Amour divin apporte la guérison

Dans la Bible, Dieu nous fait cette promesse : « Je te guérirai, je panserai tes plaies. »

Est-ce que vous aussi, vous désirez ardemment avoir l'assurance que Dieu prend soin de vous et vous guérit ? Il faut peut-être que vous parveniez à comprendre Dieu d'une manière plus profonde et plus complète. Science et Santé avec la Clé des Ecritures est le livre qui peut vous aider. C'est un livre qui met en lumière la bonté, le pouvoir et l'amour toujours présents de Dieu.

Science et Santé parle de la constance de Dieu et de Sa loi qui guérit par la prière. Il vous montrera comment un engagement de votre concept de Dieu et de l'homme peut apporter la guérison et la régénération dans votre vie. Il vous montrera comment les promesses de la Bible s'accomplissent.

Vous pouvez obtenir un exemplaire de ce livre en envoyant \$8.00 avec le coupon ci-dessous.

Miss Frances C. Carlson  
Publisher's Agent  
One Norway Street  
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Mon chèque de \$8.00 est joint en paiement.

Sich vor diesem oder jenem zu fürchten scheint im menschlichen Leben ganz normal zu sein. Mitunter — aber nur wenn wir das Wort nicht in seiner genauen Bedeutung benutzen — glauben wir, ein gewisses Maß an Furcht sei notwendig, um am Leben zu bleiben. Wir meinen z. B. ein Kind mit den Gefahren vertraut, denen man sich beim Überqueren einer verkehrsreichen Straße aussetzt, oder weisen jemanden, der mit Drogen experimentiert, wenn er darauf hin, daß die Zukunft für ihn düster sein kann. Im besten Sinne aber suchen wir in solchen Fällen nicht Furcht einzuführen, sondern die Betroffenen darauf aufmerksam zu machen, daß sie Um-sicht walten lassen müssen. Solch ein Bewußtsein kann nicht schaden.

Die Furcht, die einem schadet, ist nicht die angemessene Vorsicht, sondern das beunruhigende Vorherrschen des Bösen, das chronische Gefühl von Angst und Sorge — wir brechen es nicht eingehender zu beschreiben. Die Christliche Wissenschaft verheißt uns Freiheit von derartigen Furcht, sie verleiht uns Frieden und Herrschaft, die uns durch die in der Bibel enthaltenen Lehren in so reicher Fülle zu Teil werden. Diese Lösung beruht auf der Tatsache, daß Gott Alles und gut ist und daß der zu Seinem Ebenbild erschaffene Mensch vollkommen ist.

Wir brauchen nicht bloße Worte des Trostes, sondern eine absolute Zusage — eine Zusage, daß es hinter unserer Furcht, hinter dem, was die Substanz des Bösen zu sein scheint, des entleerten Körners, eine Wirklichkeit gibt, die von allem unberührt ist, was unserem Wohlergehen und Glück entgegensteht. Möge Als Christus Jesus sagte: „Fürchte dich nicht, du kleine Herde! Denn es ist eures Vaters Wohlgefallen, euch das Reich zu geben“, war das mehr als nur ein Trost, mehr als eine oberflächliche und wohlwollende Erklärung.

Es hat keinen großen Wert, zu jemandem zu sagen: „Fürchte dich nicht.“ Oft läßt sich die Furcht nicht so leicht abstreifen. Aber Jesus sagte weit mehr als das. Er bezog sich auf die geistige Verfassung seiner Zuhörer, auf ihre und meine geistige Verfassung, die jenseits all des Ap-geschwehns besteht, der unsere Befürchtungen bestärkt. Er sagte uns, was die Christliche Wissenschaft mit wunderbarer Klarheit wiederholt, nämlich daß die erhabene Gegenwart, Gott, unser aller Vater, für

unser Wohlergehen sorgt — das Himmelreich, das wir in uns selbst finden können. Und was kann schon Seiner Fürsorge widersprechen oder sie uns vorenthalten? Nichts!

Aber dieses „Nichts“ kann so überzeugend ausfallen. Mary Baker Eddy, die Entdeckerin und Gründerin der Christlichen Wissenschaft, bezeichnet das Böse in unserem Leben als eine bloße Annahme. Aber beharrlich betont sie immer wieder, daß wir uns mit dem Glauben an das Böse auseinandersetzen. Ihm herbeizugehen und durch das Verständnis von Gottes Allheit und Güte überwinden müssen. „Sie sagt z. B.: „Da Gott Alles ist, gibt es keinen Raum für Sein Ungleiches. Gott, Geistes, allein hat alles geschaffen, und Er nannte es gut. Daher ist das Böse, weil es das Gegenteil vom Guten ist, unwirklich und kann nicht das Ergebnis Gottes sein.“

Dies ist die grundlegende Wahrheit, von der die Christliche Wissenschaft ausgeht, wenn sie die Lehren Jesu neu formuliert. Noch eine andere Erklärung Mrs. Eddy's kann von ganz besonderer Bedeutung für uns sein, wenn wir von Furcht umgeben zu sein scheinen. Ja, es gibt viele solche Erklärungen, wie jeder Leser entdecken wird, aber diese eine kann als Parallele zu den bereits zitierten Worten Jesu von besonderer Bedeutung sein. Mrs. Eddy sagt: „Was schadet es, wenn die Annahme schwindet, daß Gott ist, mehr für den Menschen als seine Annahme, und je weniger wir die Materie und ihre Gesetze anerkennen, desto mehr Unsterblichkeit besitzen wir.“

Jesus erklärte, daß es Gottes „Wohlgefallen“ sei, uns das Gute zu geben. Gottes Willkür und Weg hebt alles sogenannte Böse in unserem Leben auf. Gott ist mehr für den Menschen als alles Böse. Er ist mehr für uns als alle unsere Ängste, ganz gleich, was wir fürchten. Wenn wir aufhören wollen, uns vor dem Bösen zu fürchten, müssen wir schließlich erkennen, daß in Gottes Universum das Gute — und es gibt nur ein Universum — das Böse unwirklich, unbekannt ist. Wir können also, auch wenn wir uns im menschlichen Leben fürchten — auch wenn wir an das Glauben, was nicht von Gott stammt —, auf die wahre Substanz, auf die Substanz des Guten, vertrauen. Wir brauchen uns nicht zu fürchten, auch nicht vor unseren Ängsten, weil Gottes Güte und Liebe zu uns alles ist, was es in Wirklichkeit gibt.

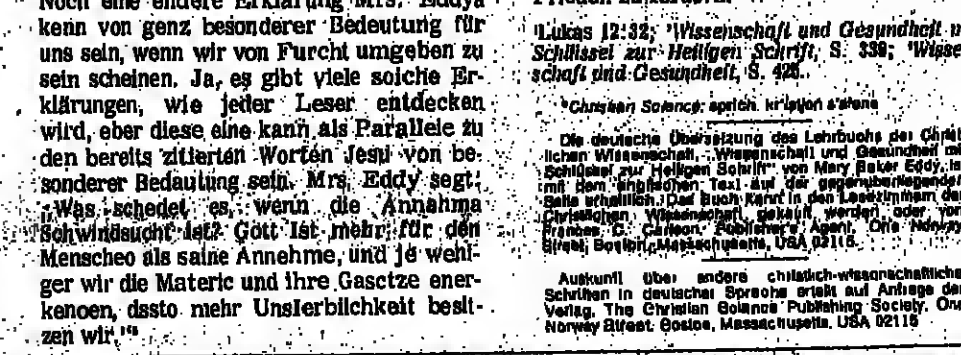
Wir können hier, schon in diesem Augenblick, Frieden finden. Und von unserem himmlischen Vater fließt uns schon jetzt wirklich alles Gute zu, um diesen Frieden zu fördern.

\*Lucas 12:32: „Wissenschaft und Gesundheit mit Schlüssel zur Heiligen Schrift“, S. 338; „Wissenschaft und Gesundheit“, S. 423.

\*Christliche Wissenschaft spricht „eternität“ ewig

Die deutsche Übersetzung des Lehrbuchs der Christlichen Wissenschaft, „Wissenschaft und Gesundheit mit Schlüssel zur Heiligen Schrift“ von Mary Baker Eddy, ist mit dem englischen Text auf der gegenüberliegenden Seite versehen. Das Buch kann in den Lesesalons der Christlichen Wissenschaft bestellt werden, oder von Frances C. Carlson, Publisher's Agent, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.

Aufnahme über andere christlich-wissenschaftliche Schriften in deutscher Sprache erhält auf Anfrage der Verlag, The Christian Science Publishing Society, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.



Oomomani skims over Lake Jipe, near Tanzanian border, Kenya

By H. Norman Matheny, staff photographer







# OPINION AND...

## UNESCO in danger

By David Anable

United Nations, N.Y. "Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defense of peace must be built."

Now there's a splendidly resounding sentiment — straight from the Preamble of UNESCO's 1945 Constitution. Today the big question is: What is in the minds of the men and women now in Nairobi for UNESCO's biennial General Conference — confrontation or "peace"?

The UN's Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization has reached a turning point. If the explosive oil of political polarization which has marked UNESCO's recent past continues, then it is entirely possible that the organization will split apart. Certainly pressures will mount for an American withdrawal.

If, on the other hand, "peace" is uppermost in the minds of delegates, then clear opportunities for compromise exist. That in turn could pave the way for revived American and Western participation in an organization which over the past 30 years has made real and positive contributions to world education and culture. It will be a sad day for what must become an increasingly neighborly world if this chance for cooperation is missed.

The next few weeks in Nairobi will be crucial. From the point of view of the West, especially the United States, two big issues loom over all the others: the attitude of UNESCO's 137 members toward Israel, and toward free-

dom of information. Both are prickly, sensitive subjects. But it's worth trying to examine them with as an impartial, Martian-like gaze as possible before the Nairobi debate gets too excited.

Israel. At the last UNESCO General Conference in 1974 three decisions were taken which vitally affected Israel. Together they were seen in Washington as essentially political. The result was a U.S. congressional amendment cutting off American dues to UNESCO until "concrete steps" were taken to correct them. Today the U.S., which normally foots one quarter of UNESCO's budget, owes it some \$30 million.

The first of those 1974 decisions was to withhold UNESCO aid to Israel until it respected earlier UNESCO calls to stop archaeological digs near Muslim and Jewish holy places in east Jerusalem. Today, however, the excavations still are continuing and there is virtually no hope at all of compromise on this dispute, in the foreseeable future.

The second 1974 decision was a vote not to include Israel in one of the UNESCO regional groups through which much of the organization's work is done. Here a way out is possible.

The 40-member Executive Board has recommended that the regional groups themselves decide their own membership. If the Nairobi conference accepts this idea, if the European group then votes Israel in, and if the full conference then goes along with the result, Israel

will at least have a UNESCO "home." It'll be touch and go, but the odds favor success.

The third 1974 decision took the form of a resolution condemning Israeli educational policies in the occupied territories. UNESCO Director General Amadou M'Bow was asked to assume the responsibility instead. The Arabs have made it clear that this dispute will be their main target in Nairobi.

Much now hinges around whether, and in what form, Israel will accept a UNESCO mission to examine the situation... plus the Arab reaction. Compromise will be difficult, but perhaps not impossible.

At best, therefore, a two-out-of-three success ratio on these Israeli issues is possible. If that is achieved the U.S. administration is expected to argue that UNESCO's "downhill" trend is halted and to ask Congress to let the frozen U.S. funds flow again.

Information. For some years UNESCO has been discussing how to build up information networks and the mass media in developing nations. It is a natural part of the emergence of these nations from the colonial era when all communications went to and from London or Paris or Brussels or other European capitals.

Because many young nations do not have the thriving private sector needed to support a Western-style free press, governments tend to become involved. That's understandable. So too is the anxiety, not always justified, that "news" is all one way — from the rich world to the poor in a culture-submerging flood.

What has alarmed Western observers of late, however, has been an apparent subversion of the debate by totalitarian governments for their own ends. UNESCO-sponsored meetings (though not UNESCO itself) have echoed with calls for greater government control over the media, boding ill not just for the developing world's press but for Western correspondents and news agencies too.

The most obnoxious manifestation of this from a Western viewpoint is a "draft declaration" on the mass media sent to Nairobi by a UNESCO meeting of "experts" in Paris last December. According to American officials, the whole document is "beyond salvation." It represents, in their eyes, an attempt by the Russians and East Europeans to gain international "sanctification" for their rigidly state-directed media.

It is likely that the declaration will be handed over to a new 25-member committee specifically set up to handle, behind the scenes, precisely such hotly contested issues. But this, or other information-related proposals, are pushed through the conference against Western opposition the reaction is certain to be strong.

Hence the danger of a UNESCO split: If the Israeli and information issues end in bitter disagreement — and the hopes of reconciliation if both can be at least partially turned aside.

Mr. Anable is the Monitor's correspondent of the United Nations.

## Jazz violins — and what else is not new?

Melvin Maddocks

Wouldn't it be nice if nostalgia just went away? Then we could all feel nostalgic for nostalgia and all around murmuring: "Remember the good old days when we remembered the good old days?"

Alas, for the moment nostalgia seems here to stay, and our standard question is: "What else is not new?" "King Kong" has returned, chest a-thumping. Saara, Roebuck boasts a whole furniture action classified as "Victorian Reproductions." In fashions everything but the hoop skirt is back. And that isn't meant as a suggestion.

One's heart also sinks a bit to read the advertisement, "Paul Whiteman Rediscovered," and to hear a 29-piece band in 1920s tuxedos solemnly playing the slightly rickety arrangements of the self-styled "King of Jazz," straight from the archives. The cornetist presuming to reproduce the notes of Bix Beiderbecke even uses a vintage hat as his mute.

Ah, the compulsions of the Age of the Replicas! The latest specialty of nostalgia appears to be to revive old jazz violinists, and another alumnae of the Paul Whiteman Orchestra — no replica, he — is very much with us these days: Joe Venuti, America's greatest living jazz violinist.

"Ancient is beautiful" according to the games of revival, and Venuti seems willing to let people think he is an octogenarian, all in the best interests of nostalgia. Actually, Giuseppe Venuti was born aboard ship Sept. 1,

1903, in transit from Italy to (as it turned out) South Philadelphia.

South Philadelphia is noted as the home of musicians and prizefighters. If Venuti appeared on "What's My Line?" the shrewd guess would be: prizefighter. A big, barrel-chested man, Venuti once supported Jack Benny in a vaudeville act, during which Benny quipped: "This man will take on anyone in the house."

Before he started playing, Venuti still looks like a superannuated bouncer, waiting to hand on the instrument to its proper owner with a mumbled threat as he comes panting on the stand — late again. When Venuti tunes up, such confusion vanishes. He may still have the locker-room sense of humor that nalls the aches of a time-tapping piano player to the floor — Bing Crosby, still another Whiteman alumnae, swears to the story — but Venuti is an accomplished musician who was once offered a chair with the Detroit Symphony. In his recorded duets with Yehudi Menuhin he is by no means disgraced as a technician.

Listening to Venuti with his South Philadelphia friend, the guitarist Eddie Lang, on 1920s recordings like "I Got Rhythm" and "Some of These Days," one hears the Venuti of today — this tough bear of a man with the delicately dancing attack that never exceeds his reach, but

seldom falls short either. For here is one of those talents kept vital by being true to itself rather than by self-revision and grand illusions of development.

The violin as a jazz instrument has its limits. It lacks volume. As for tone, there is almost no way to give a violin a fine jazz rasp — the roughened voice that sings the blues. Incurably cheerful as a cricket when it awings, the violin can barely play the blues at all. Everything the violin can do in jazz its wind counterpart, the clarinet, can do better. Yet Venuti — like Eddie Lang, like Stuff Smith, like Ray Nance — has triumphed over the natural instinct of the violin to play Bach, without vulgarizing the instrument in the process.

Nostalgia likes to travel in pairs, and so there is another jazz violinist slaying a second four-of-a-kind in the States — Stéphane Grappelly, who became famous as a member of the Quintet of the Hot Club of France over 40 years ago, playing first fiddle to Django Reinhardt's guitar.

If Venuti looks like an old heavyweight champ, Grappelly looks like a French Impressionist painter, as impersonated by Maurice Chevalier. He can play even "Sweet Georgia Brown" with aristocratic elegance, plus a touch of gypsy-soul. He is the most humorous of jazz violinists.

Venuti and Grappelly are nostalgia as living continuity rather than flash-frozen-and-quick-thawed past. May they both be fiddling long after both King Koogs have been wiped out by a squad of mols.

## Australia's Governor-General: a target for tomatoes

By Denis Warner

Melbourne, and even threatened with physical violence. Sir John Kerr dismissed the Whitlam Government and installed a caretaker government charged with calling an immediate election.

Under the Constitution, the governor-general is appointed by the Queen on the advice of the Australian Government. In vested, in certain limited circumstances, with powers to dissolve Parliament. In practice, until November 11 last year, these powers had been used only on the advice of the prime minister.

When the electoral confirmed Malcolm Fraser in office by an overwhelming vote, it seemed that Sir John's bold decision to brook precedent had been vindicated and that the constitutional hubbub would soon die down.

If anything, it appears to have gained strength and significance. Angry Labor supporters have not forgiven Sir John and a small minority have been keeping up a noisy barrage against him ever since.

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# COMMENTARY

Joseph C. Harsch

## The U.S. and Yugoslavia

A subject touched upon lightly and carelessly during the final stage of the American presidential campaign deserves most serious attention. What should American policy be toward Yugoslavia?

To the final so-called "debate" Governor Carter let himself get trapped into asserting that he "would not go to war in Yugoslavia even if the Soviet Union sent in troops." President Ford in his responding comment said that "it is unwise for a president to signal in advance what options he might exercise if any international problem arose." Two days later Secretary of State Henry Kissinger called the Carter statement "dangerous" and suggested that Mr. Carter should reconsider his views on this subject.

A particular point in the Kissinger argument is of first importance: the noted that there are two different kinds of American interests in the world. There are the formal treaty commitments to the NATO alliance, to Japan, to Australia and New Zealand, etc. There are also areas in the world where "whether we have an obligation or not, we might feel our security threatened." He cited both China and Yugoslavia as examples of places where "a successful attack on either would affect the world equilibrium and would affect the calculations of other countries, and therefore could in time affect American security, even if it didn't do so immediately."

Governor Carter was probably correct in one sense. It is unlikely that the United States would actually send its armed forces "in" to Yugoslavia "even if the Soviet Union sent in troops." In the event of a crisis over Yugoslavia other methods than overt U.S. military intervention would probably be used to counter Soviet intervention.

However, this is a subject deserving the most thoughtful and careful attention because an international crisis over Yugoslavia could happen at any moment, and could easily become overnight a far more serious problem for the United States than the Middle East or southern Africa.

Yugoslavia is a "communist" country. It may be difficult for some Americans to appreciate that a threat by one communist country to another communist country could concern the United States. But Yugoslavia is a most unusual type of communist country. Its communism is not recognized as such in Moscow. The private sector of the economy is substantial and widening. It trades mostly with the West. It is not a member of the Warsaw Pact. It is the leader of the "nonaligned" movement to the world. Its domestic and foreign policies are regarded in Moscow as heretical. It has be-

come a buffer between the Soviet empire and Western Europe. It is allied with neither, mistrusted by both, but needed by both. If it didn't exist it would have to be invented. It is in the true interests of both communities to preserve it.

But do the Soviets understand this? Would they keep hands off if they thought they saw a chance in drag Yugoslavia back into their Warsaw Pact community?

The danger is precisely that a chance might open up and that the Soviets would be unable to resist the temptation to seize it.

Marshal Tito, who is to Yugoslavia what Mao Tse-tung was to China — a mixture of folk hero, boss, and king — is 88 years of age. He has done his considerable utmost over 30 years to forge his country into a true and lasting political union. But Yugoslavia is the hardest country in all Europe to unify. No other is divided so many ways by such complex cultural and ethnic differences going back even to the time Constantine divided the Roman Empire (330 A.D.). The Dalmatian Coast was left in the Western empire speaking Latin. The interior of the empire was now Yugoslavia went to the Eastern empire speaking Greek.

Since then it has been divided and redivided between Latins and Slavs, between Christians and Muslims, between Turkey and the Austrian Empire. The dividing lines criss-cross. Today there are in Yugoslavia Muslims, Orthodox Christians, Roman Catholic Christians, Communists and many varieties of unbelievers including prosperous peasants and successful private enterprises.

Yugoslavia has not been welded into a homogeneous culture. It can't be, anymore than the Catholics and Protestants of Ulster can be blended into a single people. There are strains between these disparate peoples. Some of them are foolish enough to think that bringing in the Russians would help them. It is conceivable that in the turmoil of a struggle over the succession to Marshal Tito one faction might call for Soviet help. And the Soviets might be foolish enough to respond. They have a substantial armed force in position to drive into northern Yugoslavia.

Would it matter to the United States? Yes, enormously. If the Soviets seized Yugoslavia they would then control the Dalmatian Coast with excellent warm water ports for their Mediterranean squadron, and ample bases for their air fleets. Their propaganda would be just across the Adriatic from Italy. The southern flank of NATO would be exposed. All of Western Europe would be shaken and endangered. The only worse thing that could happen to Western Europe would be an actual Soviet invasion.

## China's emerging new class

By Ross N. Munro

Events in China of the past several weeks may constitute one of the most momentous shifts in the history of communism since Karl Marx first put pen to paper.

What foreign radicals fear is that communism has lost its second chance. Soviet Russia was communism's first chance, a source of hope and inspiration for leftists around the world during much of the first half of this century. It turned sour for some when Russia sought a temporary alliance with the Nazis in 1939 and when it crushed Eastern Europe in the 1940s and 1950s.

But perhaps most disillusioning of all was the rise of a new class which used secret police and prison camps to protect its immense power and privilege. The existence of a new class mocked what was supposed to be the primary goal and justification of communism — the abolition of classism.

Whether or not they ever called themselves Maoists, leftists around the world had their hopes rekindled by the Chinese revolution. With its emphasis on the masses and its public opposition to classism the message of the Chinese revolution for so many leftists was that a communist system didn't necessarily have to evolve into a monolithic, elitist system.

At the core of Maoism, particularly during the past decade, has been the recognition that there is a tendency in any communist regime for a new class, a privileged new elite, to emerge as it did in the Soviet Union. Chairman Mao Tse-tung felt this danger was all the greater in China with its age-old elitist tradition. Perhaps the chief antidote he prescribed was periodic political convulsions every seven to 10 years which would keep the emerging elite in check, which would prevent the rise of a new class, and which would keep China on the road to an egalitarian society.

Mao's widow, Chiang Ching, and the three other radicals who have been purged were the chief proponents of this line.

Whether they took this position for ultimately selfish reasons, as a justification for their own attempt to acquire power, is almost a secondary question in historical terms. What was important was that they were the upholders of this Maoist line favoring continuing attacks on the emerging new class and, now that they have been purged, there are no leaders on the horizon who appear committed to this line.

In recent years radicals at the grass-roots level around China could criticize factory managers and party officials knowing that their radical allies in Peking would come to their aid if local officials tried to suppress them. Both the local and the Peking radicals might have been pursuing their own selfish aims but, again, what is important is that they were up-

holding the anti-elitist strain of Maoism. Now the powerful radicals and the center on whom the local radicals relied have been wiped out and so the power equation in China, right down to the factory level, has been changed overnight.

Today we can say with a high degree of certainty that there will never be another episode in China like the Cultural Revolution of the 1960s which dislodged, or at least chastened, tens of thousands of government bureaucrats and party officials. This is not to say there will not be major conflicts, even violent ones, in China in the future. One can easily write scenarios of future clashes based on class, age, region, or special interest but the prospects for a successful challenge to elitism are dim.

In the short run this will pay tremendous dividends. The next decade, in fact, may well be the golden decade for 20th-century China. The end of the radicals' stuffy hold on culture and life-style, for one thing, will make China a more amenable place to live in. There will be more latitude given in artistic expression and the eschewing of drabness in clothing and life-style will no longer be automatically considered counterrevolutionary.

On the economic front the next decade should witness a spurt in industrial and agricultural development and a discernible rise in the standard of living. This is because the bureaucrats and officials who have been attacked and harassed for 10 years will no longer have to be so cautious and will be able to take more charge of the economy and the bureaucracy.

But the opposite side of this coin is that as they take charge, as they put the goal of economic growth in first place, they and the factory managers and the commune leaders will all acquire more power and ultimately more privilege. That's a roundabout way of saying that a new class will be firmly in charge of China a decade from now.

There is little doubt that Hua Kuo-tang and his allies recognize this danger and will try to counteract it. We can expect to witness more and more energetic political campaigns in the coming months and years. Efforts in education, the arrangement of bureaucrats, the gap between factory managers and their workers, bourgeois life-styles — all of these things will come under regular attack in political campaigns.

The catch is that these campaigns are going to remain relatively superficial if there's no one at the top of the political structure like Mao Tse-tung — or the four purged radicals who surrounded him in his last years — who is committed to cutting the elite down to size even at the cost of political turmoil and economic dislocation.

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## Unresolved world issues — 20 years later

By Robert R. Bowie

Twenty years ago in 1956 four events were happening just about this time. One was the Suez crisis, when Israel, Britain, and France attacked Egypt in a vain effort to unseat Nasser. The second was the brutal Soviet repression of the Hungarian revolution. The third was the final drafting of the treaties for the European Economic Community and Atomic Energy Community. And the fourth was a report by a special NATO committee on improving consultation among the Atlantic nations on nonmilitary matters.

These events of 20 years ago are more than past history. These issues or their consequences are still on the agenda of unfinished business.

1. The Arab-Israeli conflict, which was one facet of the Suez crisis, is still unsettled. The intervening years have seen countless raids and counter-raids and wars in 1967 and 1973. The armistices, like the Sinai agreement of last year, have left all the central issues unresolved. That conflict must not be allowed to fester much longer. An overall settlement based on UN Resolution 242 and the legitimate rights of the Palestinians should have high priority. To achieve it the United States will need to press both sides to make the concessions required for a stable solution.

2. The blocking of the Suez Canal in 1956 also dramatized how vulnerable Western Europe was from its growing dependence on the Middle East oil. Indeed, it led the Europeans to appoint a special three-man group to study the problem. They proposed a program to reduce Europe's dependence, largely through the European Atomic Energy Community. Yet their warning was virtually ignored. In 1956, Europe was importing about 22 percent of its total energy from the Middle East. By 1972, such imports had risen to about 65 percent, in place of domestic coal. In 1973, the Europeans were defenseless against the OPEC embargo. Meanwhile, the U.S. too has become much more dependent on imported energy.

Clearly the U.S. and other major energy users need an adequate long-term policy for providing and conserving energy, which they have yet to develop. And the spread of nuclear power heightens the problem of safeguarding against the potential risks to peace and the environment.

3. In 20 years the European Economic Community has created its common market and agricultural program and has added Britain and two other members. But for many years, the progress of the community was impeded by British hesitation and de Gaulle's obstruction, which blocked economic and political unity. And more recently the community has been under severe stress from inflation, recession and uneven growth. Yet a stronger European Community continues to be in the interest of the U.S. as well as Europe. In recent years, however, the U.S. has not been helpful in facilitating its progress, and has even exploited divergencies among its members. Such a policy is shortsighted and unwise.

4. A year before the Soviet suppression of Hungary, the East-West summit at Geneva began the process of seeking to improve relations with the Soviet Union. Two of the agenda-topics — arms control and freer exchanges — have been perennial ever since. The experience of 20 years should have made clear the Soviet concept of "coexistence" and détente, and should counteract the tendency to euphoria and overreliance in the Western democracies. The need to cooperate, at least to minimize risks of nuclear war, has steadily increased, but the U.S. and its allies still need to clarify what they expect from détente with the Soviet Union and how to use their influence for that purpose.

5. The 1956 committee on Atlantic consultation had only limited impact (then. Yet as the advanced societies have become more interdependent, they have developed new instruments for collaboration, such as the OECD, and worked closely together through GATT, IMF, and other agencies. In recent

years the U.S. has too often neglected such cooperation, indeed more open diplomacy is essential for it to flourish at all levels. That will require change.

6. Twenty years ago, the needs of the less developed countries (LDCs) were beginning to receive some attention. Indeed, Truman launched Point Four assistance in 1949. But has taken time to grasp the complexity of development and to disentangle assistance from East-West rivalry.

The problems of poverty, population, food and growth — and the whole relation with the LDCs — are critical to a decent international order. Yet they have not been getting the priority which they deserve, and which they will require for many years to come.

Looking back 20 years seems to me to put the current tactics of foreign policy both old and new into perspective. It should remind us that shaping a new global order is a long and difficult job. It will take steady and coherent effort to achieve constructive cooperation among advanced democracies, with the various LDCs, and, as feasible, with adversaries. It cannot be done by ad hoc or short-term measures. And cannot be postponed.

Dr. Bowie is a member of the Harvard Center for International Affairs and of the Harvard faculty.